

A Survey of the Parliamentary Elections of 1625, 1626 and 1628.

The purpose of the thesis was to study the parliamentary elections of 1625, 1626 and 1628. Contemporary accounts of these elections were derived from the State Papers, ambassadorial reports, parliamentary diaries, news-letters and family correspondence. Further information was obtained by tracing the relationship between an M.P. and his constituency. Borough and county elections were discussed with particular reference to the survival of the payment of wages, the use of instructions by constituencies to its members, and the practices of election patrons. However, the most illuminating approach was through a study of the extent of government intervention in each of the elections. Court pressure was most pronounced in boroughs within its jurisdiction, that is, the Cinque Ports, the Duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall, and a detailed analysis has been made of the elections in these areas.

The relationship between the misgovernment of the early years of Charles I's reign and the parliamentary elections of the period has been discussed. Approximately 113 'courtiers' were returned in 1625. A 'courtier' has been defined as either a Privy Councillor, office-holder or legal official, or someone who was prepared to support the government in the hope of future gain. 95 'courtiers' were elected the following year, and approximately the same number in 1628, in spite of the increased opposition to the government. A list of 'courtiers' returned to each parliament, with the offices they held, is provided in the appendices. The government had little need to have recourse to the nomination of particular candidates. The normal mechanism of election resulted in the return of a considerable number of 'courtiers', without the direct intervention of the court. The number of contested elections discovered varies in number from 20 in 1625, to 14 in 1626 and 20 in 1628. They were primarily struggles between local gentry anxious to obtain a seat in the House of Commons, and rarely reflect opposition to the government.

University of London.

M. A. Thesis. April 1952.

~~A General~~ Survey of the Parliamentary Elections of 1625-8.

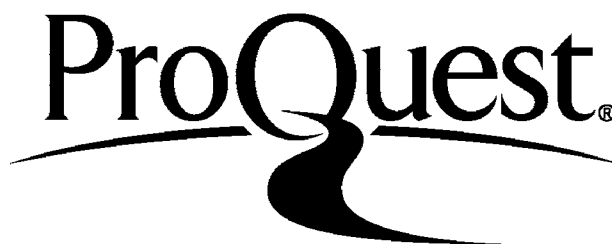
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A survey of the parliamentary elections of 1625-8.

The material extant for a study of the parliamentary elections of 1625-8 is considerable. The Elizabethan parliamentary elections have been fully analysed by Professor Neale in his authoritative work - The Elizabethan House of Commons, which forms a valuable introduction to the elections of the early Stuart period. Professors Willson and Notestein have made outstanding contributions to an understanding of parliamentary history in the reigns of James I and Charles I. The latter in his introduction to The Commons' Debates for 1629 discusses the whole question of the sources for the Commons' debates.

The records of many of the larger boroughs have been printed, and in particular those of Barnstaple, Cambridge, Leicester, Nottingham, Oxford, Reading and Great Yarmouth are invaluable. Among the Wedgwood Committee Manuscripts in the House of Lords' Library there is a list of contested elections. This list, which is incomplete, is mainly compiled from the printed Commons' Journal, the State Papers Domestic and borough archives. Unfortunately, references are often not given. Government intervention in the elections has been traced in the State Papers Domestic, the Duchy of Cornwall Enrolment books and the correspondence of the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. In this connection, the Rye corporation manuscripts have been examined. They have previously been calendared by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Family papers often provide detailed information concerning the preliminaries and actual conduct of elections. Invaluable in this respect are the Gawdy papers in the British Museum, and the Wynn of Gwydir collection in the National Library of Wales. Both have been calendared. The Barrington papers in the British Museum and the correspondence of the Earls of Huntingdon in the Bodleian Library proved less rewarding. The Thomas Scott manuscript gives a description of the Canterbury election of 1626. The reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and in particular those of the Coke and Phelips' manuscripts, were valuable. Strafforde's

Letters and Despatches, The Fairfax Correspondence and J. Forster's 'Sir John Eliot' (based on original documents at Port Eliot) are indispensable for this period. News-letters in The Court and Times of Charles I' give contemporary comment on the elections, which is supplemented by the reports of the Venetian Ambassador and Tuscan representative (Calendar of State Papers Venetian: Historical Manuscripts Commission 11th. Rep., app. I), which must, however, be used with caution.

The printed Commons' Journal records many disputed elections, although the accounts are often very meagre. Diaries kept by members of Parliament have been used wherever possible to supplement the Commons' Journal, and in particular those of Denzil Holles, Sir Richard Grosvenor, Mr. Lowther and Sir Edward Nicholas. News-letters, although they must be treated with considerable care, are also valuable. The parliamentary writs of return have been examined in the Public Record Office, with reference to the insertion of an M.P.'s name in a different hand from the body of the indenture.

The Pink manuscripts contain a biographical dictionary of M.P.'s (the portion AB to LO is complete in manuscript). Unfortunately, as references are rarely given, the notes can only be accepted as a guide. The Wedgwood Committee manuscripts which contain much biographical data would appear to be primarily transcripts of the Pink manuscripts. Biographies of the M.P.'s for one county or group of counties, have been compiled. Many of these tend to emphasize the local side of the members' life, and they are dependent for much of their information on county historians, who vary in reliability. The most important are A. Gooder, 'The parliamentary representation of the county of York 1258-1832', W.P. Courtney, 'The parliamentary representation of Cornwall to 1832', W.D. Pink and A.B. Beaven, 'Parliamentary representation of Lancashire county and borough, 1258-1885' and J.C. Wedgwood, 'Staffordshire Parliamentary History, 1258-1780'.

Scholarly biographies have been made by J.J. Alexander and H.T. Weyman in the Transactions of the Devonshire Association and the Shropshire Archaeological Society of the members of those two counties and their boroughs. Individual borough and county histories vary considerably in quality - the more important are based on a study of borough archives, and often provide information concerning the parliamentary elections. The most valuable are G. Wilks, The Barons of the Cinque Ports and the parliamentary representation of Hythe; W.S. Weeks, 'Clitheroe in the Seventeenth Century'; James Thompson, 'The history of Leicester--' J.B. Baker, 'The history of Scarborough', D. Sinclair, 'The history of Wigan', and C.J. Palmer, 'The history of Great Yarmouth --',

The Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, the Lord Chamberlain's accounts, the Patent Books (Auditors) and the Privy Seal Books in the Public Record Office are useful for assisting in the classification of members as courtiers. The Additional Manuscripts 14,285 and 15,630 (A catalogue -- of the Household in 1616, and copies of patents of offices -- relating to the Duchy of Cornwall) in the British Museum are equally valuable. The printed lists of sheriffs and escheators are helpful in estimating an individual's prestige within his county. Many of the wills at Somerset House have been examined in order to trace a connection between an M.P. and a possible patron.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

Add. MSS.	Additional Manuscripts.
A.P.C.	Acts of the Privy Council.
Alum. Oxon.	Alumni Oxonienses
B. M.	British Museum
Bart.	Baronetage.
C.J.	Journal of the House of Commons.
Cal. S.P. Dom.	Calendar of State Papers Domestic.
Cal. S.P. Ven.	Calendar of State Papers Venetian.
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography.
Ed.	Edited.
Eng. Hist. Rev.	English Historical Review.
H.M.C.	Historical Manuscripts Commission.
O. R.	Official Return of Members of Parliament.
op. cit.	opere citato.
P.R.O.	Public Record Office.
Pub:	Publication.
Soc.	Society
Trans.	Transactions.
V. C.H.	Victoria County History.

NOTE ON DATES.

All dates in the text are given in New Style.

MSS. MATERIALP. R. O.¹Accounts

Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber.	A01/392/64-5.
Great Wardrobe Accounts.	A01/2350/55-8
Hanaper Keeper or Clerks Accounts.	A01/1369/91-3

Chancery

Chancery Decrees and Orders.	
Commissions of Oyer and Terminer in Wales and Marches.	
Commissions of the Peace.	
Parliamentary Writs and Returns. 1625	C219/39
1626	C219/40
1628	C219/41A & B

Exchequer

Accounts of the Keepers of the Wardrobe.	E351/3094
Exchequer Warrants	E404/150
Gentlemen Pensioners Rolls.	E407/1/43
Hanaper Accounts.	E351/1659-62.
Patent Books (Auditors)	E403/2455-6
Privy Seal Books	E403/2563-4
Receiver-General Accounts. (Duchy of Cornwall)	E306/12-3
Tellers Rolls	E405/170

Lord Chamberlain's Accounts.

Funeral of James I - 1625.	LC 2/6.
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Duchy of Lancaster

Survey of Pevensey and other places in Sussex. 6 Elizabeth.	D.L. 42/112
Survey of the Lordship of Monmouth. II. James I.	D.L. 42/122.

Signet Office

Docquet Books 1584-1874.	S. O. 3.
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1. The P.R.O. references approximate to the years 1625-8.

State Papers

State Papers Domestic

S.P. Dom. 16

Diary of Sir Edward Nicholas for the parliament
of 1628.

S.P. Dom.16/97.

B. M.Additional MSS.

- 12,496 A volume of collections made by Julius Caesar
temp. James I.
- 14,285 A catalogue -- of the Household 1616.
- 15,630 Copies of patents of offices and grants of
lands, etc., relating to the Duchy of Cornwall.
- 21,922 Letter Book of Sir Richard Norton, deputy-
lieutenant of Hampshire, 1625-40.
- 22, 248 Letters and papers relating to election matters
at Aldborough, Suffolk. 1584-1737.
- 22,474 Speeches, passages and other observations [in]
parliament -- February 1626.
- 23,012 Collections for the history of Great Yarmouth --
by Henry Swindon.
- 24,475. ff.89-145. Copies of letters of various persons to Sir
Richard Beaumont.
- 25,334-6 Collections for a history of the borough of
Ipswich -- made by William Batley, town clerk.
- 28,844 Accounts of fees and pensions to public officers,
members of the Royal Household and others,
April-September 1617.
- 29,622 Extracts from the court books of the corporation
of Dover 1558-1688.
- 34,318. ff.41-9. Abstracts of payments to the royal household,
Navy and Ordnance Officers, Ambassadors, etc..
1629-32.
- 36,825 Proceedings of parliament 17 March 1628- 26 June
1628.

37,819 Nicholas Papers. Copies of letters, warrants etc. of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. 9 December 1624 - 19 December 1627.

Egerton MSS.

2,026. f. 40b. Documents relating to the jurisdiction, royalties etc. of the Warden of the Cinque Ports.

2644 Barrington Papers. vol. I. 1490-1628.

2645 Barrington Papers. vol. 2. 1629-1631.

2713-2722 Correspondence and papers of the Gawdy family.

2715 Correspondence and papers of the Gawdy family. 1605-1629.

2816 Roll of New Year's gifts given and received by Charles I. 1 January 1627.

Harleian MSS.

286 f. 297 List of persons removed from the Commission of the Peace. 8 July 1626.

642 The book of the household of Prince Henry 1610.

1601 Parliamentary notes for session of 1628.

2313 & 5324 Parliamentary Diary probably by Denzil Holles 1628.

4771 A news-letter dealing with the session of 1628

6445 [Often called "The true relation"]
Notes taken by Sir John Borough at committees of the House of Commons in February and March 1626.

6779.f.335b. Speech of Sir John Eliot concerning the election at the borough of Newport in Cornwall in 1628.

Lansdowne MSS.

164 The names of the King's officers in the Court of Receipt at Westminster and of their clerks in 1610.

222- An index of the grant of all offices, commissions -- made by James I as they are recorded in the Chancery and remain at the Rolls.

Stowe MSS.

322. ff. 52 seqq. Accounts of the revenue of the Prince of Wales
circa 1625.
367. ff. 46b. seqq. A news-letter dealing with the session of 1628.
- 575 List of the officials of the Revenue Courts,
the Courts of Justice, Admiralty, Mint and
other public offices -- a collection made in
1616 by Henry Knappe.
- 743 Miscellaneous original letters 1570-1640.

Duchy of Cornwall Record Office.

Enrolment Books 1611-15.

1615-25

1620-1.

1639-42.

Commissioners of the Revenue 1625-6.

1627-8.

Miscellaneous MSS: 1 January 1624.

Guildhall Library

Repertories.

Somerset House.

Wills proved in the Prerogative Courts of Canterbury Administration
Act Books.

House of Lords Library

Wedgwood Committee MSS.

Bodleian LibraryCarte MSS.

- 77 Miscellaneous correspondence and papers of the
5th and 7th Earls of Huntingdon from 1569-1643.
- 78 Miscellaneous correspondence and papers of the
7th Earl of Huntingdon.
- 117 Correspondence and papers of the Wharton and
Hastings families, chiefly on public affairs
in the seventeenth century.

City of Bristol MSS.¹

Common Council Proceedings 1608-27.

Audit Books.

City of Plymouth MSS¹

Widey Court Book.

Rye Corporation MSS.John Rylands' Library.Pink MSS

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| English MSS. 296-306. | W.D. Pink. Dictionary of M.P's in the
Tudor and Stuart period. |
| English MSS. 318-320. | Indexes for the Dictionary 1547-
1702. |
| English MSS. 312-317. | Notes for the Dictionary. |

1. I am indebted to Mr. R.C. Latham for transcripts.

Thomas Scott MS.¹

Trinity College. Dublin. Library.

Grosvenor MSS. (E 5/35/50). Diary of Sir Richard Grosvenor for
the parliaments of 1626 and 1628.

National Library of Wales.

Wynn of Gwydir Papers, Panton Group.

1. I am obliged to Mr. W.G. Urry, Keeper of the Manuscripts at
the Cathedral Library, Canterbury for permission to transcribe
the document.

PRINTED MATERIALPRINTED CALENDARS AND COLLECTIONS.Acts of the Privy Council.Calendar of State Papers Domestic.Calendar of State Papers VenetianHistorical Manuscripts Commission.

1st. Rep., App. pp. 57-60.	MSS. at Montacute House. [Sir Edward Phelips]
3rd. Rep., app. pp. 281-87.	Calendar of Phelips' MSS.
3rd. Rep., app. pp. 341-50	Corporation of Totnes MSS.
5th. Rep., app. pp. 568-71.	Corporation of Sandwich MSS.
7th. Rep., app. pp. 596-680.	W.M. Molyneaux MSS.
8th. Rep., app. pp. 355-403.	Corporation of Chester MSS.
8th. Rep., app. pp. 403-441.	Corporation of Leicester MSS.
10th. Rep., app. II. 1-211.	Gawdy MSS.
10th. Rep., app. IV. 399-407.	Corporation of Bishop's Castle MSS.
11th. Rep., app. I. 1-184.	Salvetti Correspondence.
11th. Rep., app. III. 145-247.	Corporation of King's Lynn MSS.
11th. Rep., app. IV. 1-413.	Marquess of Townshend MSS.
12th. Rep., app. I. 1-488.	Coke MSS.
12th. Rep., app. III. 1-191.	Coke MSS.
12th. Rep., app. IV. 1-527.	Duke of Rutland MSS.
12th. Rep., app. IX. 400-529.	Corporation of Gloucester MSS.
13th. Rep., app. IV. 1-246.	Corporation of Rye MSS.
13th. Rep., app. IV. 405-494.	E.R. Wodehouse MSS.
14th. Rep., app. II. 1-642.	Duke of Portland MSS. [Harley Letters and Papers. vol. 1.]
14th. Rep., app. IV. 1-626.	Lord Kenyon MSS.
14th. Rep., app. VIII. 158-165.	Corporation of Hertford MSS.
14th. Rep., app. IX. 458-524.	Onslow MSS.
15th. Rep., app. VII. 1-151.	Duke of Somerset MSS.
15th. Rep., app. X. 1-65.	Municipal Records of Shrewsbury.

Buccleuch MSS. vols. I, III.. City of Exeter MSS.

Lord Montagu MSS.

R.R. Hastings MSS. vol. II.

Transcripts of some Gwysaney Letters and Papers. (National Library of Wales).

Calendar Wynn of Gwydir Papers.

Somers Tracts: vols. IV and V.

(1810-11)

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| T. Birch | <u>Court and Times of Charles I.</u> | (1848) |
| Sir John Bramston | <u>The autobiography of Sir John Bramston, K.B.</u>
-- (Camden Soc., vol. XXXII). | (1845) |
| A. Collins (ed). | <u>Letters and Memorials of State.</u> 2 vols.
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| H. Ellis (ed). | <u>Original Letters illustrative of English History.</u> | (1824) |
| Sir Simonds D'Ewes | <u>The autobiography of Sir Simonds D'Ewes during the reign of James I and Charles I.</u>
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<u>[Fairfax Correspondence, I and II, to 1642]</u> 2 vols. | (1864) |
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| T.T. Lewis (ed). | <u>Letters of the Lady Brilliana Harley --</u>
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| - | <u>Correspondence of Lady Katherine Paston.</u>
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- Interim Report of the Committee on House of Commons Personnel and Politics, 1264-1832. [Invaluable. It contains an extensive
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first and twenty-second years of the reign
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Cornwall to 1832. [invaluable] (1893)
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- X - Valuable.

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II, (1907), III (1917).J. Foster (ed). - Visitation of Yorkshire 1584/5 and Visitation 1612 --
(1875)J.L. Vivian (ed). Visitations of the county of Devon. (1895)EDUCATION

- | | | |
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| R.J. Fletcher | <u>The Pension Book of Gray's Inn 1569-1669; 1669-1800.</u> | |
| | 2 vols. | (1901-10) |
| J. Foster | <u>Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714.</u> | 4 vols. (1891-2) |
| J. Foster | <u>Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn 1521-1889.</u> | (1889) |
| J. Hutchinson | <u>A catalogue of notable Middle Templars.</u> | (1902) |
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A GENERAL SURVEY OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 1625-8.

- Chapter I. A general survey of parliamentary elections
1625-8. Pp. 1-53.
- Chapter II. Parliamentary elections in the Cinque Ports
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- Chapter VI. Conclusion. Pp. 204-205.

CHAPTER I.

A General Survey of Parliamentary Elections 1625-8.

The value of a piece of historical research is partly determined by the nature and validity of the evidence. Contemporary accounts of the parliamentary elections of 1625 to 1628 can be derived from the State papers, ambassadorial reports, parliamentary diaries, news-letters and family correspondence. The press was still in an embryonic stage and could neither report nor influence the course of the elections. Further information can be obtained by tracing the relationship between an M.P. and his constituency. However, the most illuminating approach is through a study of government intervention in the elections.

It is a distinguishing feature of the period after 1612 that the government was directed, not through the Privy Council, but by the rule of favourites - at this time the Duke of Buckingham. The Privy Council, losing its solidarity, became a battleground of contending factions and sank into relative insignificance. Its advice was often ignored or overruled;¹ thus the Privy Council objected in vain to every dissolution of parliament from 1625 to 1629. The Venetian Ambassador commented in 1626 that "there was no longer any Council, as he [Buckingham] alone, with three or four of his creatures for show, constituted it".² Lord Cromwell wrote to his patron: "They say the best lords of the Council knew nothing of Count Mansfeld's journey or this fleet [to Cadiz] which discontents even the best sort, if not all. They say it is a very great burden your Grace takes upon you, since none knows anything but you".³ Government offices were occupied by supporters of

1. D.H. Willson, The Privy Councillors in the House of Commons, 1604-29. p. 53.

2. Cal. S.P. Ven., 1625-6., p. 603.

3. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/6/30. qu. in S.R. Gardiner, History of England, 1603-42., VI. 9-10.

Buckingham. A contemporary observer, Sir Arthur Ingram, one of the secretaries of the Council of the North,¹ described his influence. "The Duke's power with the King for certain is exceeding great, and whom he will advance shall be advanced, and whom he doth but frown upon must be thrown down".² Sir Richard Weston, the Chancellor of the Exchequer,³ was completely subservient to Buckingham. Secretary Conway referred to the Duke as 'his Most Gracious Patron'.⁴ The other secretary, Sir Albertus Morton, was equally servile. Sir James Ley, the Lord Treasurer, had been advanced through Buckingham's favour. Any opposition to the favourite was punished. Lord Keeper Williams, who had adopted an independent attitude, was dismissed from his office in October 1625 and was replaced by Sir Thomas Coventry.⁵ Governmental policy, including the manipulation of elections, was controlled by one man. This in itself was no handicap - Salisbury had successfully managed parliamentary elections. Buckingham's essential weakness, however, lay in his character. Deluded by hopes of swift fame in his excursions into diplomacy, Buckingham was incapable of that steady application to small details, which alone could have brought him success in parliamentary elections.

It was in the government interest to return as many 'courtiers' as possible. A 'courtier' can be defined as either a privy councillor, office-holder or legal official, or someone who was prepared to support the government in the hope of future favours. The Commons' Journal gives little assistance in

1. D.N.B., X. 449-50.

2. Strafforde's Letters and Despatches, ed. William Knowler, I. 28.

3. D.N.B., XX. 1276.

4. Gardiner, op. cit., V. 310.

5. Ibid. VI. 31-2.

the classification of a particular member. Parliamentary reporting was in a rudimentary stage and only the speeches of the leading members were recorded. Furthermore, no division lists were printed to indicate how a member voted on any issue. Although the word 'courtier' was in fairly general use at this period, this group was sometimes termed 'the King's counsellors and servants', or 'his servants and friends' or perhaps 'the King's servants'. Similarly, members of the opposition - the country group - were called 'the country party', 'the popular party', 'the populars' or 'the patriots'.¹ It must be remembered, however, that party lines were shifting and ill-defined. The 'court' group did not possess any cohesion or settled policy, apart from an instinctive sense of loyalty to the crown. Buckingham continually alienated his supporters. Hacket comments on his inconstancy: "His Lordship was bred in a great error, he was so ready to cast a cloud suddenly upon his creatures and with much inconstancy, to root up that which he had planted, --- quickly weary of those whom he had gratified and apt to resume his favours to make trial upon others".² The Duke's inefficiency also aroused discontent among the 'courtiers'. Thus Sir Ralph Clare and Sir William Crofts, both gentlemen of the Privy Chamber,³ were dismissed from their offices because of their opposition to the Duke in parliament.⁴ Dissension among the 'courtiers' resulted in open quarrels in the House of Commons. Sir Miles Fleetwood, receiver-general of the Court of Wards,⁵ had a violent dispute with Sir Robert Pye, an auditor of the Exchequer,⁶ in the Commons

1. Willson, op. cit., p. 122.

2. John Hacket, Scrinia Reserata (1693), I. 40. qu. Willson, op. cit. p. 175.

3. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 71.

4. H. Ellis, Original Letters illustrative of English history --, III. 262.

5. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1603-10. p. 593.

6. D.N.B., XVI. 514.

in 1628 over proposals by the former to secure money for the crown.¹ An anonymous letter to Charles in 1626 suggested that the attacks on Buckingham in parliament originated from dismissed 'courtiers' - "malcontents censured or decorated for their deserts, as the kindred and dependents of the Earl of Suffolk and of Sir Henry Yelverton, Coke, Lake and Middlesex".²

Buckingham's exclusive control of the reins of government aroused opposition among sections of the nobility, whose support would have been invaluable in the elections. Sir Arthur Ingram outlined the main elements of opposition among the nobility: "For them in the higher House, it was my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, my Lord Keeper, my Lord Marshal, and my Lord Chamberlain. For them of the lower House, he doth conceive there were many who had their Conferences with these four Lords and others that were depending upon them".³ Sir James Bagge also gave details to Buckingham of the growth of an ill-disposed faction. He suggested that Pembroke, through the agency of William Coryton, his Vice-Warden of the Stannaries, had placed several M.Ps. in Cornish Boroughs and elsewhere. "The elder Sir Thomas Lake doth not weakly assist this faction and he is thought to be an inward man with the Earl of Kelly; for Sir Dudley Digges, being privately more dangerous than publicly,

1. Willson, op. cit., p. 200.

2. Ibid., p. 187.

3. Strafforde's Letters and Despatches. I. 28. The Earl of Arundel, the Lord Marshal, alone among the Privy Councillors had sided with the Independent Peers over the question of the number of proxies held by any one Lord. Gardiner, op. cit., VI. 71. The Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Pembroke, was suspected of taking part in the opposition to Buckingham in the 1625 parliament.

is thought to be wholly my Lord of Canterbury's. Sir Maurice Abbott, chief of the East India Company, may be thought the plotter of that accusation. Sir Walter Earl is not so great with any as the Lord Sea [Viscount Saye]; know the instruments [who are] your enemies, and [you can] judge whether the principals be your friends".¹ The 'courtiers' in parliament did not consist of a homogeneous group and could not easily be disciplined.

At elections, the government could adopt several methods to facilitate the return of 'courtiers'. It could issue circular letters of a general tenor to sheriffs and mayors. It could direct recommendatory letters to corporations and individual magnates, or it could persuade individuals to retire from the contest. The most important single measure adopted by the government to obtain a favourably disposed parliament, was the appointment in November 1625 of the leading members of the opposition as sheriffs to prevent them sitting in the ensuing parliament. It is probable that Sir George Paule recommended the procedure. He suggested that "the King's want might be supplied in a parliamentary way, if these persons [Sir Edward Coke and his adherents] were made sheriffs of the counties where they have land, and could not be admitted to the House of Commons".² The first intimation of this development is given in a letter of Sir Arthur Ingram on 7 November, when he wrote that "the King has had some conferences with some of his Council to make some that were of the last parliament, Sheriffs".³ This report was confirmed by the Venetian Ambassador: "His Majesty has appointed many J.Ps. [sheriffs] in the counties, from those who opposed the Duke in parliament".⁴ Among those so chosen in 1625 were

1. Cal. S.P. Dom., Addenda 1625-49., p. 113.

2. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1625-6., p. 132.

3. Strafforde's Letters and Despatches., I. 29.

4. Cal. S.P. Ven., 1625-6., p. 231.

Sir Edward Coke, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Robert Phelps, Sir Guy Palmes, Sir William Fleetwood and Edward Alford.¹ This practice of punishing opposition was not new, for a few years earlier recalcitrants to a loan were, in revenge, made sheriffs.² Indeed, it was natural that the court should adopt this policy, for it considered that all opposition sprang from "an ebullition of factious spite" by a few malignant individuals.³ The attitude of a typical courtier is expressed by Sir Benjamin Rudyard, who commented: "The rank weeds of the Parliament are rooted up, so that we may expect a plentiful harvest in the next".⁴

The court's influence was naturally most pronounced in boroughs within its jurisdiction, that is, the Cinque Ports, amenable to pressure from the Lord Warden, the Duchy of Lancaster, where the Chancellor exercised a potent influence, and the Duchy of Cornwall, where the Prince's Council occasionally intervened with a certain measure of success. No evidence has been discovered which suggests that the Prince's Council intervened in the elections during the period 1625 to 1628, although commendatory letters had been sent to many boroughs in 1621 and 1624.⁵ This may be partly attributed to the disgrace of Sir Francis Cottington, the Prince's secretary, who had been the dominant figure in the Council.⁶ Apart from these methods, individual Privy Councillors, who were often

1. Strafforde's Letters and Despatches, I. 29. Sir William Fleetwood, however, was later discovered to be ineligible. He alone had not sat in the parliament of 1625. Cf. Gardiner, op. cit., VI. 34.
2. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1619-23, p. 190.
3. Gardiner, op. cit., VI. 33.
4. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1625-6, p. 156.
5. The Cornish elections are discussed in detail in Chapter III, below.
6. D.N.B., IV. 1218.

chosen as high stewards of corporations, were frequently permitted^{7.} to nominate a member. Similarly, local gentry who controlled seats could offer them to the government. A parliamentary aspirant wrote in 1621 that he "would be glad of one of the many burgesses' places which will be offered to his Lordship".¹ [Buckingham] The government could also use the immense resources of the Church to facilitate the election of 'courtiers'. The Bishops were territorial magnates and were often patrons of the smaller boroughs. The intervention of the Church in public affairs was quite natural; thus, Archbishop Abbot^t circulated a letter to all the dioceses of England to further the collection of the forced loan in 1626.² However, the Church did not wield any influence in parliamentary elections until the latter half of the seventeenth century.

The government possessed one significant advantage in preparing an election - its foreknowledge of the date of summons. This enabled 'courtiers' to sound boroughs in advance, an advantage which Charles chose to disregard in 1625. Immediately after his accession to the throne, Charles resolved to issue writs for a new parliament. The Lord Keeper, Bishop Williams of Lincoln, protested in vain that "it was usual in times before, that the King's servants, and trustiest friends did deal with the Counties, Cities and Boroughs, where they were known, to procure a promise for their elections, before the precise time of any insequent parliament was published".³ Furthermore, recommendatory letters could be delivered by the same messengers who carried the writs⁴ - an additional electoral advantage for the court.

1. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1619-23., p. 193.

2. Gardiner, op. cit., VI. 143.

3. Hacket, op. cit., II. 4.

4. Eng. Hist. Rev., XXXVIII. 498.

The government had little need to have recourse to the nomination of particular candidates. The normal mechanism of election resulted in the return of a considerable number of courtiers, without the direct intervention of the court. Approximately 113 'courtiers' were elected to the 1625 parliament.¹ There was no real significant decrease in their total strength in 1626, and approximately the same number were returned in 1628 as in the previous parliament, in spite of the increased opposition. Nevertheless, Buckingham paid little attention to the return of Privy Councillors - potential court party leaders in the House of Commons. There is little variation in the geographical distribution of 'courtiers' in the three elections. A considerable proportion of 'courtiers' were elected for constituencies in Cornwall, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Lancashire and the Cinque Ports. Thus in 1628, forty 'courtiers' - approximately 44% of the total elected - sat for boroughs in these areas. To a lesser extent the counties of Surrey, Dorset and Suffolk provided seats for government nominees. Over half of the 'courtiers' returned in each of the three parliaments were concentrated in these seven counties and the Cinque Ports. This is not surprising as government influence was particularly potent in these districts. Several other features emerge from a study of the electoral pattern of the first three parliaments of Charles I's reign. An indication of the moderate temper of the election of 1625 is discernible when we compare the composition of this parliament with that of its predecessor, which had been on amicable terms with the crown. 292 members of the parliament of 1624 were members of the first parliament of Charles I.; 223 of them sitting for the same constituencies.² There is a marked continuity of membership in the parliaments of 1625, 1626 and 1628. 112 members sat for the same county or borough while 65 M.P.'s. were elected for different

1. A list of 'courtiers' returned in each parliament is given in

Appendix 1 below.

2. A detailed list is given in Appendix V below. These figures include M.P.'s returned at by-elections. 16 M.P.'s who served for the same constituencies were thus returned, while 8 M.P.'s who served for different constituencies were also elected at by-elections.

constituencies.¹ Thus approximately 36% of the members were returned in each of the three parliaments. The evidence to be drawn from the number of contested elections suggests that there was greater political activity in 1625 and 1628 than in 1626.² This evidence, however, must be treated with a certain amount of reserve as an examination of borough archives would probably bring to light more illustrations; furthermore, records of many boroughs have perished. The majority of boroughs were closed corporations, which gave little opportunity for contest. Nevertheless, an analysis of the elections reveals that, with few exceptions, contests were primarily inspired by the desire to obtain a seat in the House of Commons.

It has been stated that we can trace a growing opposition to the misgovernment of the early years of Charles I's reign in the parliamentary elections of that period, culminating in that of 1628 with the "universal defeat of government candidates".³ To examine this assertion it is necessary to place each election within its political framework and to make a detailed analysis of the methods adopted by the court to secure an adequate representation of its interests.

James I died on 27 March 1625. Charles I's accession was greeted with enthusiasm. In order to obtain additional financial aid to prosecute the war against Spain, Charles wished to recall the 1624 parliament, which had been prorogued to the spring of 1625. The illegality of this procedure was explained to him, for a parliament was automatically dissolved by the death of the reigning monarch. Secretary Conway also pointed out that it was most unwise to put into effect the concessions to Catholics, agreed upon in the recent marriage treaty with France, shortly before the summons of a

1. These figures include 10 M.P.'s returned at by-elections.

2. A detailed list of contested elections is given in Appendix II, below.

3. Willson, op. cit., p. 54.

parliament.¹ Nevertheless, the general political climate was favourable to the court. A contemporary witness, John Chamberlain, comments in 1625 that there was "much canvassing for places",² while the Venetian Ambassador reported: "It is remarkable to observe the devices adopted to be chosen as members, and the inclination and emulation to please the King".³ This is confirmed by Sir John Eliot, who, writing several years later, mentions the rivalry among the candidates to proffer their service to the King.⁴

The court made no preparations for the elections, and indeed, an analysis of the Cinque Port elections in 1625 suggests that Buckingham devoted little attention to the question.⁵ Thus, at Rye, while recommendatory letters on behalf of candidates were sent by local magnates on 1., 3., 9. April., it was not until 11 April that letters arrived from the Lord Warden. Similarly, at Hythe a letter, soliciting the nomination for Sir Allan Apsley, was received after the corporation had made its choice. Nevertheless, nine or ten courtiers were returned from the seven ports.

On 1 January 1625 the Duke of Buckingham, constable of Windsor Castle and keeper of the forest, had been appointed High Steward of the borough.⁶ In the 1625 election he addressed

1. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/3/25.
2. T. Birch, Court and Times of Charles I., I. 18. Gardiner, op. cit., V. 337., comments: "Never within living memory had there been such competition for seats in the House of Commons".
3. Cal. S.P. Ven., 1625-6, p. 20.
4. Negotium Posterorum (ed. A.B. Grosart), I. 43.
5. Buckingham was Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. These elections are discussed in Chapter II below.
6. R.R. Tighe and J.E. Davies, Annals of Windsor (1858), II. 85.

the corporation: "As the neighbourhood of the gount^t wherewth his Matie is pleased to trust me at Windsor shall make me ready to doe yo^e and yo^r towne any good offices, soe doth it at this tyme Cause mee to Crave yo^r favor in a request w^{ch} I trust yo^w will not think unreasonable w^{ch} is that on my recommendacon yo^w will electe S^r William Russell the Trer of his Mats Navye for one of the Burgesses to serve in this approaching Parliam^t for yo^r Towne, his knowne work and Merritts speake so well for him that I shall not need to tell yo^w what I beleeeve of him, and being borne not farr from yo^w, I doubte not but yo^w will easily grow Confident y^t he will be very tender of the trust yo^w shall repose in him for the good of yo^r towne ---!"¹ Buckingham's nominee was not returned, and instead the corporation chose Sir William Hewitt of Brightwell in Sussex and St. Martin's-in-the-Field in Middlesex,² who was a keeper of Little Park close to Windsor,³ and Sir Robert Bennett of New Windsor,⁴ who was a surveyor of works at the castle.⁵

Buckingham also wrote on behalf of Sir Edwin Sandys's son.⁶ The name of the borough which he solicited is not given; possibly it was Michael in Cornwall, where Henry Sandys was returned. As Lord-Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire,⁷ Buckingham

1. B.M., Add. MSS. 37, 819. f. 11.

2. G.E.C., Complete Baronetage, III. 90.

3. Tighe and Davies, op. cit., II. 118.

4. J. Foster, Register of Admissions to Grays Inn 1521-1889, p. 207.

5. N & Q. 10th. Ser., IX. 333.

6. B.M., Add. MSS. 37, 819. f. 11b. This is a draft copy of a letter.

7. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, II. 393.

was able to intervene effectively in several elections in the county. An analysis of the 1625 returns indicates that 'courtiers' were elected at Aylesbury and Buckingham. The former was a proprietary borough. Clement Coke declared in 1628 that "for 67 yeares y^e Burgesses were ever chosen by S^r John Packington".¹ Sir John Packington, who died early in 1624, had been lord of the manor,² and appointed the constables, who were the returning officers at parliamentary elections.³ Sir John Packington, the second baronet, as a minor, was committed to the guardianship of Sir Thomas Coventry,⁴ shortly to become the Lord Keeper. His influence was probably responsible for the return in 1625 of Sir John Hare of Stow Bardolph in Norfolk, who had married his only daughter,⁵ and Sir Robert Carr, a groom of the bedchamber and Keeper of the Privy Purse.⁶

At Buckingham borough, the twelve principal burgesses and the bailiff exercised the parliamentary franchise.⁷ In 1625, Sir Alexander Denton of Hillesden, who also owned estates at Prebend End⁸ in the vicinity of the borough was elected M.P.. His colleague was Richard Oliver, a commissioner of the Duke of Buckingham's estate,⁹ who was almost certainly returned with his patron's support.

1. B.M., Stowe MSS., 367. f. 46.b.
2. V.C.H., Buckinghamshire, III. 7.
3. R. Gibbs, History of Aylesbury, p. 145.
4. G. Lipscomb, The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham, (1874), II. 9.
5. W.R. Williams, Parliamentary History of the County of Worcester, p. 142.
6. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 71.
7. Browne Willis, History -- of Buckingham (1775), p. 94.
8. J.J. Sheahan, History and Topography of Buckinghamshire, (1862), p. 222.
9. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1628-9, p. 44.

Buckingham's influence also extended to those boroughs in which he was High Steward. Thus at Winchester¹ he may well have secured the return of Sir Richard Titchborne in 1625. Titchborne, a deputy-lieutenant of Hampshire,² had been gentleman of the Privy Chamber extraordinary to Prince Henry.³ However, he had strong local influence, as his father had received a grant in fee form of the royal castle in Winchester with a yearly pension of £100 during his and Sir Richard's lifetime.⁴

Bishop Williams of Lincoln, when solicited for a seat at Westminster in 1628 wrote: "I have us' de heretofore to recommend to the towne of Westm^{re} one of their burgesses onelye, And non other than was recommended unto me, by my lord D. of Buckingham, oure high steward".⁵ The normal practice was to elect the Duke's nominee and a local burgess. Buckingham's representative in 1625 was obviously Sir Edward Villiers, his brother and a Master of the Mint⁶ and President of Munster,⁷ while his colleague was William Man, one of the burgesses⁸ and a surveyor of the College at Westminster.⁹

The Universities were particularly amenable to 'court' pressure. In 1624 Sir Robert Naunton, Master of the Court of Wards,¹⁰

1. B.M., Add. MSS. 21,922.f.124. Buckingham was High Steward of Winchester.

2. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8., p. 106.

3. B.M., Harleian MSS. 642. f. 253b.

4. J. Milner, The History --- of Winchester. II. 3 .

5. B.M., Cottonian MSS. Julius. C. III. f. 402.

6. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1611-18., p. 489.

7. Ibid., 1623-5., p. 450.

8. B.M., Cottonian MSS. Julius. C. III. f. 402.

9. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 57.

10. D.N.B., XIV. 126 seqq.

was chosen for Cambridge at the Lord Keeper's request.¹ He was re-elected the following year, with Sir Albertus Morton, one of the Secretaries of State.² At Oxford University, Sir Thomas Edmondes, the Treasurer of the Household,³ was returned together with Sir John Danvers, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Prince Henry.⁴

It is possible that Buckingham made use of his position as Lord High Admiral to intervene in certain maritime boroughs, in which he possessed no other connection. The practice had been adopted by other Lord High Admirals at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Thus in 1603 the Lord High Admiral had written to the corporation of Scarborough for the nomination of one member.⁵ Similarly, in the election at Aldeburgh for the Short Parliament, the then Lord High Admiral, the Earl of Northumberland, wrote: "I am desirous in time to lett you know, that as other Ports and Sea Townes of England have heretofore done the favour to other Lord Admirals, in giving to them the nomination of one of the Burgesses of those towns".⁶ In the Kent election of 1626, Sir John Hippisley advised Buckingham: "if you please this night to send to all those of the navie to be there for Sir Sandes tomorrowe I doe thinke he will carrie yt".⁷ It is possible that Sir Edmund Sawyer, an auditor of the King's revenue,⁸ secured his election through the agency of

1. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1623-5, p. 148.

2. D.N.B., XLII. 1045.

3. Ibid., VI. 391.

4. B.M., Harleian MSS., 642. f. 253.

5. Scarborough Archives. Miscellaneous MSS. I am indebted to Miss M. Mort for this reference.

6. N. F. Hele, Notes or Jottings about Aldeburgh, Suffolk, p. 21.

7. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/18/28.

8. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 56.

Buckingham at Harwich, where there was an Admiralty House, in which Admiralty courts were kept.¹

Secretary Conway also exercised electoral influence in several boroughs. He had succeeded the Earl of Southampton as Captain of the Isle of Wight.² Although the sale of crown lands had diminished the influence of the Captain,³ nevertheless he was still able to return one nominee in each of the three boroughs of Newport, Newtown and Yarmouth.⁴ In 1625 the electoral pattern was identical in the three corporations - the return of one crown nominee balanced by the election of a local candidate. The manor of Newport was retained by the crown until 1629.⁵ Here the right of election lay with the corporation, which consisted of a mayor, recorder, ten aldermen and twelve burgesses.⁶ In 1625 Sir Nathaniel Rich, described as a man "never out of my Lord Duke's chamber and bosom",⁷ was partnered with Philip Flemyng of Newport,⁸ Steward of the Isle of Wight.⁹ At Newtown the election was exercised by the owners of burgage tenements.¹⁰ Thomas Mallett, Conway's cousin,¹¹ was returned

1. S. Taylor, The History and Antiquities of Harwich, (1730), p. 227.

2. J. Albin, A History of the Isle of Wight, (1795), p. 215.

3. The Oglender Memoirs (ed. W.H. Long), p.22; cf. Cal. S.P. Dom., Addenda., 1625-49., p. 29.

4. Sir Frederick Black, Outline Sketch of the Parliamentary History of the Isle of Wight, p. 5.

5. V.C.H., Hampshire. V. 261.

6. J. Albin, A Companion to the Isle of Wight (12th. Edit., 1831)p.17.

7. Hacket, op. cit., II. 18.

8. Black, op. cit., app. p. 32.

9. J. Foster, Alum. Oxon. 1500-1714, II. 507.

10. V.C.H., Hampshire, V. 266.

11. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8., p. 542.

with Sir Robert Barrington, a member of a family who owned the major part of the borough.¹ At Yarmouth, the right of election was vested in the corporation, consisting of a mayor and twelve capital burgesses.² Sir John Oglander of Nunwell³ and one of Conway's deputies in the Isle of Wight⁴ was returned with Edward Clarke, a groom of the bedchamber.⁵ Clarke, however, elected to serve for Hythe and Sir John Suckling, the Comptroller of the Royal Household,⁶ was chosen in his place.

Other members of the government such as the Lord High Treasurer, Sir James Ley, the Lord Keeper, Bishop Williams, and great magnates like the Earl of Dorset, who were sympathetic to the government, were able to return 'courtiers'. The Duchy of Lancaster supplied courtiers with a number of seats, while the Commissioners of the Prince's Revenue were active not only in Cornwall, but also in scattered possessions throughout the remainder of the country. Bewdley in Worcestershire had been a frequent residence of the Council in the Marches of Wales,⁷ and in 1612 the manor was held by Henry, Prince of Wales.⁸ In 1624 the Commissioners successfully recommended Ralph Clare,⁹ a gentleman of the Privy Chamber,¹⁰ who was Keeper of Bewdley Park.¹¹ They

1. Essex Arch. Soc., New Series, 11. 24.

2. Albin, A Companion to the Isle of Wight, p. 34.

3. Visitation of Hampshire.- [In] 1634 (Harl. Soc. Pub., vol. LXIV), p. 64.

4. Oglander Memoirs, p. 5.

5. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 40.

6. D.N.E., XLX. 141.

7. J.R. Burton, A History of Bewdley, p. 36.

8. Ibid., p. 7.

9. Duchy of Cornwall, Miscellaneous MSS. 1 January 1624. f. 35.

10. H.M.C., 3rd. Rep., App., p. 284.

11. B.M., Stowe MSS. 322. f. 52.

were similarly successful in nominating Francis Finche and Sir Thomas Jermyn for Eye and Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk respectively.¹ These three members were re-elected in 1625 and it is possible that they still possessed crown support.

But it is almost certain that the great majority of 'courtiers' received no support from the court in their elections. This was not because the government was not prepared to take active measures to defend its interests when the occasion arose. During the course of this parliament, when there was obviously some disinclination to vote supplies before grievances had been rectified, the court promptly began to canvass members. Eliot reported: "The whole of what remained of the afternoon was spent by the leading members and privy councillors in passing to and fro among the wavering and undecided, urging and pressing them to choose their sides".² Wentworth was approached by the Lord Keeper at Oxford "at his [Wentworth's] first coming to Town, and before his coming to the House, Who promised (and I verily believe he perform'd it) to carry himself advantageously to His Majesty's Service, and not to joyn with any that should fly upon my Lord Duke".³ In 1625 the court was confident that the normal processes of electioneering would result in the return of a substantial number of 'courtiers'. We should, however, expect the government to pay particular attention to the return of Privy

1. Duchy of Cornwall, Miscellaneous MSS., 1 January 1624. f. 35; Ibid., 14 January 1624. f. 36.
2. J. Forster, Sir John Eliot, I. 385.
3. Strafforde's Letters and Despatches, I. 34-5. qu. in Willson, op. cit., pp. 190-1.

Councillors, who would be responsible for carrying through the crown's legislative programme.

Six Privy Councillors were returned - the same number as in the last parliament. These included Sir Albertus Morton, who was elected both for Kent (where he enjoyed the support of Buckingham, and the Earls of Westmorland and Dorset),¹ and Cambridge University; Sir Thomas Edmondes chosen for Oxford University; Sir Richard Weston, Chancellor of the Exchequer,² for Callington; Sir Robert Naunton for Cambridge University; Sir John Suckling for Yarmouth, and Sir Humphrey May, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster,³ for both Lancaster and Leicester. Only Morton was chosen for a county, while Sir John Suckling was beaten in the Middlesex election. John Chamberlain gives an account of the contest: "Sir John Franklyn and Sir Gilbert Gerrard carried yt away in Middlesex from Mr. Controller though he were present, w^{ch} was thought not so wise a part for a privie counsaillor to take the foyle in person".⁴ This defeat was no indication of hostility to the government, for neither Gerrard nor Franklyn was a popular candidate. Indeed, Franklyn was recommended by Buckingham to Rye in the same election.⁵ Objection by electors to a Privy Councillor was usually based not on the political character of the office, but on the inaccessibility of the person. Thus the freeholders objected to the candidature of two Privy Councillors in the Middlesex election of 1620 because "they could not have accesse to such great persons as privie Counsellors".⁶ Consequently, Privy Councillors were compelled

1. This election is discussed fully in Chapter IV below.

2. D.N.B., XX. 1275.

3. Ibid., XIII. 140.

4. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/2/27.

5. H.M.C., 13th. Rep., App., pt. IV. 173.

6. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 14/118/30.

to seek election in boroughs amenable to court pressure.

Apparently the government made no attempt to secure the return of the Master of the Rolls - Sir Julius Caesar.¹ He made an unsuccessful attempt to solicit a burgess's seat at Maldon in Essex. The Bailiffs in their reply stated: "We have imparted and made known the same to our Brethren, the aldermen, the common Councill of our house at twoe severall meetings before the day of election, then again in the hearing of them all of the commons assembled (in our moote hall) at the choice being the twelvth of this month; But those of the commonalty w^{ch} are free Burgesses meeting, being many in number the greater parte of the Assembly without us prevailing gave their voices, the first place to S^r Arthur Herryys, Knight, the second to Sir Henry Mildmay, Knight, M^{re} of the King's maties Jewell house".² Sir Arthur Herryys of Crixsey in Essex³ held land in Maldon.⁴ His sister was married to Sir Henry Mildmay of Grayes,⁵ a cousin of the master of the Jewel house, who was High Steward of the borough.⁶ It was probably the hastiness of the election which prevented Caesar from making adequate arrangements elsewhere.⁷

The conclusion suggested by the Middlesex and Maldon elections is that opposition to courtiers was often nothing more than resentment on the part of the local gentry against what they felt to be unfair intrusion into the competition for seats on which they themselves laid such store. But two contemporary

1. D.N.B., III. 658.

2. B.M., Add. MSS. 12, 496. f. 98.

3. Genealogist, XVII. 276.

4. P. Morant, The History and Antiquities of -- Essex, 1. 336.

5. Visitation of Essex -- [in] 1612, p. 213.

6. D.N.B., XIII. 372.

7. Caesar's fourth surviving son Robert was returned for Bodmin.

E. Lodge, Life of Sir Julius Caesar and his descendants, p. 58.

statements suggest other explanations. Salvetti, the representative of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in his analysis of the elections reported that "the Puritanical faction is already exciting tumults that they may make sure of a majority. Another section of the voters are adherents of the Anglican Church, but they are in a minority".¹ There is, however, no evidence that religious issues had any significance in the election, although doubtless many Puritan-minded towns would tend to select representatives of the same mode of thought.

According to a letter from Sir Fulke Greville to Secretary Conway, there was in some boroughs an organised opposition to the government. "Having an opportunity of discoursing with Mr. Eedes, a counsellor-at-law, a very ingenious man, and one of whom Sir H. Puckering can give your Lordship a perfect account, I asked him what was the reason Mr. Hopkins (who serves for Coventry) was always so cross and violent in Parliament against the King's affaires and what was the way to take him off, he told me that he was chosen by a faction in that town, who had engaged him to be so, in opposition to several others who stood in competition with him. That there was no way to alter him but by his father, Sir Richard Hopkins, with whom he would discourse, and give me a further account. This week he came to me againe and told me that Sir Richard said he had no reason to concern himself in that matter, for there were two puisne sergeants at law to him already put over his head and called up to the Bench before him, but if, upon the death of any of the ancient Judges, he might be prepared to be a judge in any of the King's Courts, he would not only make his son go right in the King's business, but several others of his friends that went in the House of Commons as perversely as his son did".² However, such

1. H.M.C., 11th. Rep., App., pt. 1. 5.

2. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/522/88. The O.R. only mention Sir Edward Coke and Henry Harwell, who was elected vice Sir Edward.

Sampson Hopkins had previously represented the borough in 1621.-
O.R., 1. 454.

opposition was probably confined to a few of the larger towns.

Evidence of contests has been discovered in twenty elections,¹ but in the majority of these cases there is no indication of any struggle between 'court' and 'country'. Indeed, the frequent incidence of contests between 'courtiers' suggests that the primary factor in the election was a desire on the part of individuals to secure seats. Thus the Yorkshire election contested by Sir Thomas Wentworth and Sir Thomas Fairfax on the one hand, and Sir John Savile and his son on the other, was essentially a personal struggle, sharpened by economic divergencies.²

A brief survey of a few of the contested elections will confirm the hypothesis that there was no fundamental opposition to 'courtiers'. At Wells in Somersetshire, there were three candidates - Sir Edward Rodney of Rodney Stoke, a 'courtier' who

1. Vide. App. II. This does not include the Warwick election which was probably contested. It is possible that research in borough archives would reveal many more contested elections. The printed Commons' Journal reports disputed cases - that is, elections in which there were suspected irregularities, or in which questions of electoral procedure were involved. Unfortunately, the information contained in the printed Commons' Journal for the 1625 parliament is particularly scanty. On 8 July Sir George More reported that he had in hand above twenty petitions - C.J. I. 807., and on 5 August it was decided to respite all election petitions until further order of the house. - C.J., I. 810.
2. This election is discussed in detail in Chapter IV below.

employed himself 'heartily' in the forced loan of 1626,¹ Sir Thomas Lake, a former Secretary of State,² and Mr. Paulett of Hinton St. George,³ who also lived at an old canonical house in Wells,⁴ and was created Baron Paulett on 23 June 1627.⁵ Lake was a brother of Dr. Arthur Lake, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who was permitted by the corporation to nominate one member, providing this member took his oath as burgess and agreed to observe the liberties of the city.⁶ Sir Edward Rodney was elected for the other seat.

Two indentures were returned for Bridgnorth in Shropshire, one containing the names of Sir William Whitmore and George Vernon, the other of Sir William and Sir George Paule. The Whitmore family possessed a close connection with Bridgnorth⁷ and in 1629 Sir William received a grant of the castle.⁸ Both Paule and Vernon were 'courtiers'. The former, a representative of the Paules of Westhartborne in Durham, had held a number of minor offices, including the post of principal registrar to the high commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and as a friend of Buckingham was included in a commission for the examination of the duke's

1. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1625-6., p. 445.

2. D.N.B., XI. 417.

3. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, X. 615.

4. T. Serel, A lecture on the history of Wells, p. 13.

5. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, X. 616.

6. Serel, op. cit., p. 13.

7. Trans. Shrop. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc., 4th. Ser., V. 9.

8. G. Bellett, The Antiquities of Bridgnorth-(1856), p. 127.

estates and revenue.¹ Vernon, a son of Sir Thomas Vernon of Haslington, was appointed in November 1627 a baron of the exchequer.² The printed Commons' Journal gives no indication as to how the dispute was resolved.

Similarly at Lostwithiel in Cornwall, there was a double return - on the one indenture Nicholas Kendall and Sir Reginald Mohun, on the other, Sir Henry Fane and Sir George Chudleigh. Three of the four contestants were 'courtiers'. Both Sir Reginald and his son were prominent in supporting Buckingham,³ while Chudleigh was described as "well-affected" the following year.⁴ Fane at this time was one of the Prince's Commissioners of the Revenue,⁵ and as Lostwithiel formed a part of the Duchy of Cornwall,⁶ he probably used his official position to secure his return. Kendall and Mohun, however, possessed a close link with the borough. The Kendall family had been prominent in borough affairs for several centuries, and had represented the borough in parliament on several occasions from 1364,⁷ while Mohun had been appointed first recorder of the borough in the charter of 21 September 1609.⁸ It is not known how the dispute was settled.

At Malmesbury in Wiltshire, there were three candidates,

1. D.N.B., XV. 524-5.
2. Trans. Shrop. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc., 4th. Ser., V. 55.
3. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8., p. 350.
4. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/37/91.
5. Duchy of Cornwall, Commissioners of the Revenue, 1625-6. f.7.
6. C.S. Gilbert, A Historical Survey of Cornwall, p. 881.
7. A Complete Parochial History of the County of Cornwall (1867-1872), III. 178.
8. F.M.H., Memorials of Lostwithiel, p. 35.

Sir Edward Wardour, a clerk of the pells,¹ Sir Thomas Hatton of Long Stanton in Cambridgeshire,² who had represented the borough in parliament in the previous year³ and Sir Henry Moody of Garesdon in Wiltshire,⁴ who possessed land in the borough.⁵ The franchise was probably exercised by the aldermen and burgesses.⁶ It is possible that the Earl of Suffolk, whose seat of Charlton Park was situated one mile north of the town,⁷ used his influence to secure the return of Wardour and Hatton, neither of whom possessed any real link with the borough.

At Canterbury, the franchise was exercised by the freemen.⁸ According to Thomas Scott, one of the candidates, the Sheriff, Mayor and aldermen conspired to return John Fisher and "with him they joyne, a neere knowne neighbour indeede, and a worthie knight, but no Canterburie Inhabitant at any tyme, nor, at the coming foorth of his Ma^{ties} writt so much as a tytuler ffreman, Syr Thomas Wilsford".⁹ Fisher was recommended by the Earl of Montgomery, whose favour the town wished to obtain.¹⁰

1. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 56.

2. G.E.C., Complete Baronetage, II. 97.

3. O.R., I. 461.

4. G.E.C., Complete Bart., I. 191.

5. Visitation of Wiltshire -- [in] 1623, p. 87.

6. J.M. Moffatt, A History of the town of Malmesbury, p. 133.

7. Ibid., pl. 239.

8. John Brent, Canterbury in the olden time, (2nd. edit. 1879), p.80.

9. Thomas Scott MS. f. 4. This manuscript belongs to Mr. W.G. Urry, Keeper of the Manuscripts at the Cathedral Library, Canterbury.

I am indebted to Mr. Urry for permission to transcribe passages from this manuscript.

10. Ibid., f. 49.

Scott recounts that some of the common councillors nominated him and Sir George Newman, one of the judges of the Admiralty in the Cinque Ports,¹ others "Sir John Finch [the recorder] though not many because of his Nonresiancie and dependencie".² Scott maintained that Fisher and Wilsford were unduly returned, and that Newman and he should have been elected. Chamberlain, in a contemporary letter indicates that there was another parliamentary aspirant: "Sir Henry Wotton strove to be burgesse for Caunterburie, but for all the frends he could make and though he spent almost fiftie pound in goode drinke upon his followers, yet one Captain Fisher a muster master won yt from him".³

The harmony between 'court' and 'country' displayed in the elections was shattered by a series of disputes in parliament over religious and financial questions. The dissolution of this parliament on 12 August 1625⁴ without the voting of adequate supplies increased the financial difficulties of the crown. On 14 August it was resolved to issue Privy seals in order to meet the expenses of a fleet.⁵ This must have antagonised the wealthy. The complete failure of the expedition to Cadiz in October further discredited the government. Relations with France had steadily deteriorated. Financial embarrassment was the prime reason which compelled the issue of writs for a new parliament on 16 December.⁶

1. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1625-6, p. 192.

2. Thomas Scott MS. f. 4b. Finch, the Recorder, had been dismissed by the corporation, who, however, had been compelled by the Privy Council to re-elect him. His dependency did not prevent his election for the borough in 1626. D.N.B., VII. 15.

3. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/2/27.

4. C.J., I. 815.

5. Gardiner, op. cit., VI. 3.

6. Ibid., VI. 37.

As early as September 1625 rumours had been rife of the approaching election. On 8 September Lord Cromwell informed Buckingham that "wagers [were] offered that a parliament will shortly be".¹ On 29 September Salvetti reported: "There is a secret movement in favour of a new parliament; but I know not that it will succeed, owing in the first place to the plague, in part to the temper shown by the Members, and for other reasons".² On 17 October 1625 Sir John North wrote that a parliament was confidently expected, although the precise time was not known.³ On 7 November Sir Arthur Ingram commented that it was strange that so many Privy Seals were sent out, when there was a probability of a parliament.⁴ On 17 December 1625 a contemporary, the Rev. Joseph Mead, was writing: "They say we shall have a parliament in February".⁵ The Venetian Ambassador reported that Buckingham had left word prior to his departure from England on his visit to France that a parliament would be summoned in that month.⁶ The government paid more serious attention to the composition of this parliament. A series of proclamations was issued enforcing the penal laws against Catholics. Thus on 11 January 1626 a proclamation was published for the better confining of Popish recusants.⁷ Chamberlain commated: "Here be daily proclamations come forth; one strict enough against popists and recusants, if it may be duly executed, but it is thought to look forward towards the parliament".⁸ A memorandum among the State

1. Cal. S. P. Dom., 1625-6, p. 99.

2. H.M.C., 11th. Rep., App., pt. 1. 33.

3. Letters and Memorials of State (ed. A. Collins), 11. 364.

4. Strafforde's Letters and Despatches, I. 28.

5. Court and Times of Charles I., 1. 68.

6. Cal. S. P. Ven., 1625-6, p. 257.

7. Tudor and Stuart Proclamations 1485-1714, I. 172.

8. Court and Times of Charles I., 1. 72.

Papers suggests that a proclamation should be sent out with the writs, instructing the electors to choose only burgesses resident within their boroughs.¹ This advice was not unusual and had it been carried into effect would have radically reduced the numbers of the landed gentry, from whose ranks sprang the chief opponents of the crown. Another paper suggested means whereby a majority could be obtained in the Commons after the election.² Thomas Alured proposed that some of the honours to be conferred at the coronation should be distributed with a view to the coming parliament.³ On 6 February 1626 - the opening day of the new parliament - the Venetian Ambassador wrote: "For the meeting of this parliament the Duke's dependants are bestirring themselves by enquiry and other means to secure a strong party, but it is not thought that it will be strong enough!"⁴

For the opponents of the Duke had not been inactive. In December 1625 John Drake had written to Sir John Coke: "I fear great labouring for places already by some that wish not my Lord Duke best".⁵ To what extent a 'country party' organised opposition to the government it is impossible to say - the very diversity of the boroughs prevented planning on a national scale, and the opposition leaders lacked the facilities possessed by the court. They could, however, prepare the ground in their own constituencies before the receipt of the writ of election. Eliot,

1. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1625-6, p. 241.

2. Cal. S.P. Dom., Addenda, 1625-49, p. 101.

3. H.M.C., 12th Rep., App.I, p. 248. qu. in Willson, op. cit., p. 192.

4. Cal. S.P. Ven., 1625-6, p. 311.

5. H.M.C., 12th. Rep., App., pt. I. 242.

for instance, had an 'agent' in London, who transmitted to him among other matters all reports relating to a parliament.¹ Although they may have met (as we know they did in 1628) prior to the meeting of parliament to discuss the policy to be pursued in the coming session, it is most improbable that such unity extended to the conduct of elections.

In this election Buckingham wrote letters to the Cinque Ports, but only tardily and after some reminders. On 8 January Sir John Hippisley, writing to the Duke, expressed great surprise that Buckingham's letters had not been sent to the Ports and warned him that if he delayed much longer he would lose his right to nominate one member to each.² At Hythe, where the parliamentary writ was received on 7 January, the Duke's letter of recommendation did not arrive until the eleventh. Similarly at New Romney and Dover, the Lord Warden's letters were received after the election had taken place.³ The Bailiffs and Inhabitants of Bridport replied to Buckingham's request for a nomination: "Wee received yo^r graces lres the XVith of this instant January, and wee were very willing to have given satisfaction to the contents of them: for we have chosen Sir Richard Strode knight, of whom yo^r grace did write for in the first place -- and for Mr. Clearke had not wee past o^r promisses two dayes before the receite of yo^r graces letters".⁴

Buckingham probably wrote again in 1626 to Windsor, because the corporation returned his nominee of 1625 (Sir William Russell), along with Humphrey Newbery, who was steward of Windsor.⁵ His servant, Richard Oliver, who had been elected for Buckingham in 1625 was returned for Tiverton in Devon in a by-election.

1. Forster, *op. cit.*, I. 470.

2. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1625-6, p. 217.

3. The Cinque Port elections are discussed in detail in Chapter II below.

4. *P.R.O.*, *S.P. Dom.*, 16/19/69.

5. Tighe and Davies, *op. cit.*, II. 85.

Tiverton, which in 1625, had a population exceeding 7,000,¹ was probably the next town in size and importance to Exeter in the county.² It is probable that Buckingham exercised his influence through the Mohun family, who held the largest share of the manor of Tiverton.³ At Winchester, where Buckingham was High Steward, Sir Henry Whitehead, a 'courtier',⁴ was returned together with Sir Richard Titchbourne.

Richard Graham, who was master of the horse to Buckingham,⁵ was chosen for Carlisle. It is possible that the Duke intervened on his behalf, although Graham possessed local influence, as he had purchased the barony of Liddell.⁶ Sir Robert Pye was returned for Westminster, where the Duke was High Steward.⁷ It is probable that Sir Edwin Sandys received Buckingham's assistance in the Kent election,⁸ but he was not elected. Sir Richard Shilton, one of the Duke's counsel, who was appointed Solicitor-General on 4 November 1625,⁹ was returned for Bridgnorth, while Emanuel Gifford, one of Buckingham's servants,¹⁰ found a seat at Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk.

Buckingham was not the only member of the government who intervened in the elections. Secretary Conway wrote to Fulke Lord

1. William Harding, The History of Tiverton, l. 52.
2. M. Dunsford, Historical Memoirs of --- Tiverton, p. 47.
3. Ibid., p. 100.
4. Cal. S.P. Dom.. 1625-6., p. 506.
5. S. Jefferson, The History and Antiquities of - Carlisle, p. 402.
6. Ibid.
7. Cal. S.P. Dom.. 1625-6., p. 207.
8. Ibid.. 1625-6., p. 217.
9. Ibid.. 1625-6., p. 143.
10. Willson, op. cit., p. 190.

Brooke, recorder of Warwick,¹ to supply him with a burgess's place at that town for his son Sir Edward Conway. On 2 January, Lord Brooke replied: "I am hartelie sorie that this lre came so late, for heeringe many days since of a parliamt^e I intreated the first voyce heere of the Baileife and burgesses, w^{ch} they lovinglie yeelded unto me --- so that now I am so farr engaged for him, as I knowe not how to alter this choyce". Brooke contindees "if it shall please yo^w, besides yo^w have many other frends in this Cuntry uppon whom I will wayte wth all the voyces of my freehoulders, frends, and whatsoever is els in my power to that end".²

Conway also solicited the three corporations in the Isle of Wight. Philip Flemyng advised that further instructions should be sent down, now that the writs had arrived. "More might be granted were forcible and pressing reasons seasonably urged".³ William Weld, Conway's secretary, in his reply disclosed that Conway had recommended Sir John Suckling, Comptroller of the Royal Household⁴ to Newport, Sir Edward Conway to Yarmouth and Thomas Mallett to Newtown. He indicated that Conway desired the acceptance of his nominees as a courtesy, but threatened to use his power if his candidates were rejected. To prevent this Conway had written to his deputy-lieutenants in the Island, asking for their support.⁵ On 30 January Flemyng complained: "I am sorry that my neighbours of Newport have so little respect to my Lord as to proceed so hastily to an election without expecting a particular nomination".⁶ Flemyng was himself

1. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, 11. 331.

2. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/523/3.

3. Cal. S.P. Dom., Addenda, 1625-42, p. 96.

4. D.N.B., XLX. 141.

5. Cal. S.P. Dom., Addenda, 1625-42, pp. 96-7.

6. Ibid., pp. 100-1.

elected together with Sir Christopher Yelverton. He stated that he was prepared to surrender his seat in favour of Conway's nominee if it were possible to arrange a new election. At both Newtown and Yarmouth, Conway's nominees were chosen. It would appear that Conway was primarily concerned to obtain seats for his relatives rather than for more prominent 'courtiers'.

In both the Duchy of Lancaster and Duchy of Cornwall, the normal processes of patronage led to the return of a number of government candidates. No evidence exists that Buckingham attempted to intervene in the Duchies, and the elections were controlled by local officials.

Six Privy Councillors were returned¹ - an equal number to those of the parliament of 1625. Only one, Sir Robert Naunton, master of the court of wards, was returned for a county and he was out of favour with Buckingham.² Sir Humphrey May was again elected for both Leicester and Lancaster, while Sir John Suckling was returned for Norwich and Sandwich. Sir Richard Weston found a seat in Bodmin. Sir John Coke, one of the Secretaries of State, received a letter from his brother-in-law, Valentine Carey, Bishop of Exeter³: "I sent a direct messenger to St. Germain's in Cornwall requesting the like favour of that Corporation as my predecessors and myself had formerly found. I requested of them their election to be made with a blank and left to my nomination, but if that could not be obtained then I commended unto them your name. The portreeve, who is the chief of that body, returned me answer that he despaired of obtaining a blank, but made little doubt of their electing of you, yet

1. Sir Dudley Carleton, the Vice-Chamberlain, was also returned for Hastings at a by-election.

2. Sir Robert Naunton was elected for Suffolk. "Sir Robert Naunton, for speaking his mind freely and honestly against new projects, is turned out of his lodgings at court, and if somebody's power continue as great as his will, shall be cashiered of his

3. mastership of the wards" - Court and Times of Charles I, 1. 165. D.N.B., 111. 1162.

could not make promise, it being a business resting in the wills of others beside himself, and chiefly in Sir John Elliot, who being tenant to me of that whole lordship, bears (as it seems) a great sway amongst them. I forebore, according to your appointment, to write or send unto him, and whether he will take that my permission offensively or not, I cannot tell".¹ Coke was the most unpopular of all the Privy Councillors and this may account for Eliot's opposition.² Coke, however, received an offer of a seat at East Looe from Sir George Chudleigh, who had obtained a 'blank' from Sir Reginald Mohun in which he proposed to insert Coke's name.³ Coke, however, was elected for Cambridge University. Chudleigh in a further letter remarked "if it had pleased you to have placed a more useful member for the furtherance of His Majesty's royal and well set designs I should not have thought it an intrusion". Apparently, the offer was not accepted because John Chudleigh sat for the borough.

At Oxford University there was a controversy as to who should be chosen between the junior graduates and masters on the one part and the vice-chancellor and senior electors on the other.⁴ The vice-chancellor read two letters from "noble

1. H.M.C., 12th. Rep., App., pt. I. 251.

2. Sir John Eliot and Sir Henry Marten were returned for St. Germans in this parliament. O.R., I. 468.

3. H.M.C., 12th. Rep., App., pt. 1. 252-3. Sir George Chudleigh received a blank either for his own or his son's use. The name of the borough is not mentioned. As Coke did not accept the offer, and as John Chudleigh sat for East Looe, it is reasonable to assume that this was the borough concerned.

4. Willson, op. cit., p. 75.

personages" on behalf of Sir Thomas Edmondes,¹ Treasurer of the Household. With the consent of the Doctors and certain Seniors, he then proposed Edmondes for the first place. The juniors, who were not satisfied, advocated the election of Sir Francis Stuart, later Vice-Admiral to the Earl of Warwick,² and demanded a scrutiny. For the second place the juniors called for the election of Sir John Danvers, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber under Charles I.³ However, the Vice-Chancellor claimed that they had not named any candidate and pronounced in favour of Edmondes and Danvers.⁴ The juniors accordingly petitioned parliament and the election was voided.⁵ Sir Francis Stuart was returned in a second election.

It would appear that the government gave the Privy Councillors little assistance in their election. Indeed the court made no systematic attempt to return supporters. However, over 95 'courtiers' were elected. This was fewer than in 1625, though not by any large margin. An indication of the numerical strength of the 'court party' can be gathered from a debate on 11 March 1626 (on whether the second stay of the Peter of Newhaven was a grievance or not). Eliot commented: "The Duke's friends had mustered in such force, had played their game so well, had laid such pressure from the King upon the moderate and doubtful voters, and with so much dexterity had pressed the division at the close of a very long debate, that in a house reduced to 260 members,

1. Anthony a Wood, The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford, vol. II. pt. 1. 356.
2. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8, p. 143.
3. D.N.B., V. 490.
4. Wood, op. cit., vol. II. pt.1. 357; cf. Court and Times of Charles I., I. 84-5; C.J., I. 837.
5. C.J., I. 837.

they obtained a majority of six".¹

Evidence of opposition to the government at elections is difficult to obtain. It can often only be inferred from the defeat of courtiers at the polls, or by the rejection of recommendatory letters from the government. An analysis of the fourteen contested elections discovered in 1626, reveals that the greater part of them were struggles between local gentry.² Only in the Kent, Dover and Oxford University elections are there traces of opposition to the court. The contest for the second seat at Ludgershall in Wiltshire was probably a struggle between local gentry, although Mason was active in opposition to the court and in this parliament was appointed assistant to the managers of the impeachment of Buckingham,³ while Sir Thomas Jay, a few years later, held the office of Master of the Armoury.⁴ The election at Newport in Cornwall was a contest between courtiers. Sir John Finch reported from the Committee of Privileges that three indentures were returned.⁵ One was by the inhabitants and freeholders for Thomas Williams, the others were for Thomas Gewen and Sir Henry Hungate. Gewen was an Auditor of the Duchy of Cornwall,⁶ while Hungate was created a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in 1628.⁷ Williams was probably a groom of the King's Chamber.⁸ The Venetian Ambassador reported on 4 April:

1. Forster, op. cit., I. 511.

2. Vide, App. II. below. The Warwick election was also probably contested.

3. D.N.B., XII. 1321.

4. B.M., Add. MSS. 34,318. f. 43.

5. C.J., I. 837.

6. B.M., Add. MSS. 15,630. f. 75b.

7. N. Carlisle, An enquiry into --- His Majesty's most honourable Privy Chamber (1829), p. 131.

8. P.R.O., A 01/392/64. f. 12.

"Two Councillors of State have been excluded from parliament, one because not elected regularly, the other from being of the High Commission in which he has not maintained the privileges as a member of the parliament".¹ The only two electoral cases resolved on this day were those of Oxford University and Newport. It seems probable that the member referred to was Williams, as the Commons decided that he "had deserted the Cause", and that his indenture should be withdrawn.²

The hasty dissolution of the parliament on 15 June³ did not resolve the financial difficulties of the crown. On 7 July letters were despatched to all J.P.'s. for the grant of a free gift.⁴ For this purpose "it is said most, if not all, of the parliament men, that were justices, and against the duke, are put out of commission".⁵ This did not prevent strong and effective resistance to the payment of the free gift. Furthermore, a charge was laid upon the Ports and Maritime Counties to prepare a fleet of fifty-six ships.⁶ Difficulty had been found in raising a free gift and it was suggested in September that it would be easier to obtain a forced loan. However, after a successful start there was considerable opposition and as a consequence, a number of the defaulters were imprisoned. The financial exactions of the crown must have antagonised the landed gentry and monied people generally. However, all classes suffered by the billeting of soldiers throughout parts of the country, especially in the latter half of 1627. The defeat of

1. Cal. S.P. Ven., 1625-6, pp. 380-1.

2. C.J., 1. 837.

3. Gardiner, op. cit., VI. 121.

4. Ibid., VI. 125.

5. Court and Times of Charles 1., 1. 136; cf. Gardiner, op. cit., VI. 126. The names of those dismissed are given in B.M., Harleian MSS. 286. f. 297.

6. John Rushworth, Historical Collections, 1703-8, 1.267; cf. Gardiner, op. cit., VI. 132.

British arms by the French at the isle of Rhé - "the greatest and shamefullest overthrow since the loss of Normandy"¹ further discredited the government. The war against France and Spain only brought financial hardship. Buckingham's mother could write to him: "every man groans under the burden of the times."² The omens were hardly auspicious for the success of the court at the elections, but in one respect, conditions were more favourable than in 1626. An alliance between Pembroke and Buckingham had been arranged in August 1626 by the marriage of Buckingham's daughter to the son of Pembroke's brother, Montgomery.³

The difficulties of the crown led to many rumours of an impending parliament. As early as July 1626, the Venetian Ambassador was reporting of a new parliament. "It is believed that the community will choose the same representatives and they would insist more than ever upon the fall of the Duke".⁴ In September of the same year a contemporary (whose name is unknown) wrote: "Privy Seals do fail, and contributions are but mockeries; so that there is no way left but parliament, although His Majesty hath willed the Lords to think of all other ways saving that one, and the Duke will keep off that as long as he can".⁵ Apparently, some of the opposition leaders thought so too. On 7 October 1626 the elder Drake was reporting to Nicholas: "For these frends of my lordes, such as Elyott was, geveth outt that the day is appoynted, whch is the second of the next moneth, and they have laboured for places allredie and are sure of it, and geve great wordes what wil

1. Court and Times of Charles I., I. 285. qu. in Gardiner, op. cit., VI. 202.

2. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/125/22 qu. in Gardiner, op. cit., VI. 189.

3. Gardiner, op. cit., VI. 133.

4. Cal. S.P. Ven., 1625-6, p. 464.

5. Court and Times of Charles I., I. 148.

be done, and notes taken what speeches hath been geven, and notte bookes be fylled".¹ John Poulett had written to Buckingham in the same month: "On the news of the defeat of the King of Denmark, the country expected a parliament, and some popular men are already looking after places".² On 16 April 1627, Edward Moundeford wrote: "The buzzing multitude talks of a parliament and of a sudden release of the imprisoned".³ A few months later the Earl of Westmorland commented that "a Parliament must of necessity be called".⁴ By 15 December 1627, the Rev. Joseph Mead wrote: "There is no hope of a parliament, notwithstanding the Duke, as three of the bedchamber then present report, was lately twice upon his knees before the King for that end, saying, that if himself were found worthy of death, let them not spare him".⁵ Observers were quick to notice that the release on 2 January 1628 of the prisoners committed for resistance to the loan heralded a new parliament.⁶ The Venetian Ambassador reported on 7 February 1628: "I hear that others, [other Councillors] pointing out the necessity of calling a parliament, offer the King their guarantee, in case he consents, that nothing shall be said about Buckingham".⁷ Three days later he wrote:

1. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/37/52.

2. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1625-6, p. 445.

3. H.M.C., 10th. Rep., App., pt. 11. 123.

4. H.M.C., 12th. Rep., App., pt. 1V. 483.

5. Court and Times of Charles 1., 1. 305.

6. Ibid., 1. 309.

7. Cal. S.P. Ven., 1626-8., p. 584. On 10 February the Ambassador reported "the promises made by many of the chief personages that nothing shall be said about the Duke, and at the opening either a general pardon shall be proposed for him, or else a protest will be made for the dissolution of parliament, should they give way to private passion at this critical moment".
Cal. S.P. Ven., 1626-8., p. 589.

"The writs of summons have already been ordered, but I understand that in a few days a proclamation will be issued with conditions for the proposals of parliament, namely, that lawyers must not sit in the lower house, as was usual in the time of King James, and before the meeting the people are to pay 200,000 l sterling for the necessities of the war, a point which in my belief cannot be carried".¹ The proclamation was not issued until 16 February, and contained none of these conditions.² The government adopted a minatory attitude prior to the meeting of parliament. A fresh issue of Privy Seals was ordered and on 11 February, letters were issued to all the shires for ship money.³ The order was, however, revoked.⁴

It was essential that Buckingham should obtain as large a party as possible; his supporters recognised this. The Earl of Suffolk had written as early as May 1626: "At the next meeting of Parliament as I conceive, it will be the time for all your friends and servants to show themselves worthy of that title".⁵ Sir John Hippisley, lieutenant of Dover Castle,⁶ advised: "I heare there is a parliament shortly, in the w^{ch} give me leave to tell you,

1. Ibid., 1627-8., p. 589.

2. Tudor and Stuart Proclamations 1485-1714, (ed. R. Steele), I. 181..

3. Gardiner, op. cit., VI. 226-7; Diary of Walter Young, ed. G. Roberts. (Camden Soc. Pub., vol. XLI), p. 111.

4. Cal. S.P. Ven., 1628-9. p. 10.. The Venetian Ambassador commented on the King's financial troubles: "I hear it has been voted in the Council that unless the Commons grant the money immediately and without further debate, the king will be justified in exercising his prerogative burdening them with taxes and compelling them. For this end it is said that they have raised the thousand Reiters, given the orders for corslets, and for the Scottish and Irish regements. I do not know how these sudden and violent remedies can cure a feeble frame".

5. Cal. S.P. Dom., Addenda, 1625-49. p. 131.

6. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1623-5, p. 352.

that you have the part of a wise and discreete man to play -- that you make as manie Burgesses as you can and to geat my Lord Steward to make suche as shall comlye wth the kinges occasions, and not to make S^r Thomas Lacke and Doctor Turner and suche llike that for there owne ends neither cares for the kinge nor comanwelth, these are the men that bringe all to utter ruen".¹

It is probable that Buckingham addressed letters to all the Cinque Ports, although positive evidence only exists for the ports of Dover, Rye and Sandwich. At both Dover and Rye his candidate was returned, but he met with a rebuff at Sandwich. Henry Holt wrote from Portsmouth that although he could promise nothing definitely, that on receipt of the Duke's letter, the town would be prepared to accept Buckingham's nominee.² The two M.P.'s. elected were Owen Jenens and William Towerson. Both were connected with admiralty administration,³ but were also local burgesses.⁴

Cambridge University invariably returned courtiers. Robert Mason addressed Nicholas on 3 March to enquire whom Buckingham would recommend for the election.⁵ Apparently, this elicited no response. On 7 March Mason again wrote to discover the Duke's nominees.⁶ Sir John Hippisley had previously written on 31 January for the Duke's letters for the Cinque Ports.⁷

1. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/92/12. The Lord Steward was the Earl of Pembroke.

2. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8., p. 548.

3. Towerson was Vice-Admiral to Lord Conway. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1625-6, p. 486.

Jenens was a deputy Vice-Admiral of Hampshire. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8., p. 220.

4. R. East, Extracts from the Portsmouth Records (1891), pp. 346-7.

5. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1628-9., p. 5.

6. Ibid., 1628-9., p. 9.

7. Ibid., 1627-8., p. 537.

It would appear that Buckingham gave little consideration to the electoral problem. At Cambridge University, two courtiers were chosen - Sir John Coke and Thomas Eden, Master of Trinity Hall.¹ Similarly, at Oxford University two courtiers were returned - Sir John Danvers and Sir Henry Marten, a Judge of the Admiralty Court.² At Winchester, Sir Richard Titchbourne was again returned, with Robert Mason as his colleague.³ Two of Buckingham's servants, Richard Oliver and Richard Graham, were chosen for Buckingham and Carlisle respectively.

As for the Isle of Wight, on 1 February Conway addressed the corporation of Newport requesting a seat for his son, Sir Edward Conway.⁴ Other letters were sent to Yarmouth and Newtown soliciting these boroughs to make choice of such candidates as should be recommended to them by his deputy-lieutenants, Sir John Leigh, Sir Edward Dennis and Sir John Oglander.⁵ On 2 February he wrote to his deputy-lieutenants stating his desire to perform some good services for the island. "One principall worke I knowe will bee the providing for the saftie and defence of the Coasts that are most exposed to danger -- ". To accomplish this end, he recommended certain burgesses to his officers: "Sir Foulke Grevill, and Mr. Edward Reede, both my kinsmen and well knownen in the Island to bee chosen for Yarmouth and my cousen Mallett for Newtowne for whom he served the last parliament, wth some suh other as I shall hereafter thinke of, or yo^w find cause to name for the good of the Island. I relye upon Newport for my sonne, and make noe other provision for him --".⁶

1. D.N.B., VI. 361.

2. Ibid., XII. 1146 seqq.

3. Ibid., XII. 1321 states that Robert Mason, who was active against the court, was returned for Winchester in 1628. As Buckingham was High Steward of Winchester, the M.P. returned may have been Robert Mason, Buckingham's secretary.

4. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8., p. 540.

5. Ibid., 1627-8., pp. 540, 542.

6. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/92/17.

Sir John Oglander, in his reply, protested that he was "an Instrument of Outinge my selve at Yarmouth for whom I had so long served". It was bad policy to remove Sir Edward Conway from Yarmouth, where his prospects were good and try to place him at Newport. Oglander continued that the Mayor of Yarmouth had informed him that he did not deserve such treatment, and that the corporation had resolved to choose local representatives. At Newport, "ye Maior, after a churlish manner he told him itt [Conway's letter] wase come too late, with other unpleasinge language", and that they were resolved not to elect Sir Edward Conway. At Newtown, however, many of the burgesses were prepared to grant Conway's desire.¹ It is probable that the example of the other ports affected Newtown for the M.P.'s eventually returned were Sir Thomas Barrington and his son Robert. At Yarmouth Sir John Oglander and Sir Edward Denny were chosen, while the 1626 representatives, Philip Flemyng and Sir Christopher Yelverton, were elected for Newport. Conway did not accept his rebuff with equanimity. Oglander wrote: "because ye burges townes refused to give him places An'o Dom. 1628, in ye Parliament, as not letinge him have one, he professed himselfe noe frynd to ye Island in generoll, or his Liftennants in p'ticular".² The defeat of Conway's candidates was primarily an expression of disapproval of an absentee Captain, who recommended his relatives,³ rather than an indication of hostility to the court.

Conway also wrote to the corporation of Southampton,⁴ recommending Sir Francis Annesley, Vice-Treasurer and Receiver-General of the King's Revenue in Ireland.⁵ As Lord-Lieutenant and Vice-Admiral of Hampshire,⁶ Conway may have possessed a certain

1. Ibid., 16/93/60.

2. Oglander Memoirs, p. 6.

3. Ibid., p. 5.

4. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8., p. 540.

5. 43rd. Rep., D.K. Pub. Records. App., 1. 6.

6. Cal. S.P. Dom., Addenda, 1625-49., p. 158.

influence in the borough. Apparently, another courtier, Sir Henry Whitehead, had intended standing, for Conway apologised for his intervention and offered his assistance to secure Whitehead a seat elsewhere.¹ Annesley was, however, rejected by the corporation and two local aldermen², John Mayor and George Gollopp were returned. Conway in his reply to the corporation stated: "I doe marvell to finde so colde a response from you".³

Conway did obtain, however, a place for his son, Ralph. He addressed Sir Thomas Jervoise: "understandinge of the power yo^w have in that kind both at Andover and some places in Shropshire", and asked him to secure a seat for his son,⁴ who was accordingly elected at Andover.

On 14 February 1628, Foulke Reed, Conway's cousin and agent, wrote to him reporting the delivery of his letter at Evesham. Here the franchise was vested in the bailiffs, twelve aldermen and burgesses of the borough.⁵ Conway was himself an alderman of Evesham, having been appointed prior to his election as a parliamentary burgess in 1621.⁶ Conway's letter was apparently written on behalf of Sir Robert Harley, a Master of the Mint,⁷

1. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8., p. 556. Sir Henry Whitehead was returned for the Duchy of Lancaster borough of Stockbridge.

2. O. R., 1. 477.

3. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/94/10.

4. Ibid., 16/92/14.

5. G. May., A Descriptive History of the Town of Evesham, p. 259.

6. Ibid., p. 282.

7. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1625-6., p. 573.

and a wealthy Puritan landowner, who was related to Conway.¹ The corporation's answer to Conway's request was at first 'faint' and they would not promise anything until they had consulted their recorder, Richard Creswell, who was in London. "Mr Creswell they resolve must be one, and for the other they intend to nominate Mr. Anthonie Langston -- yet in respect of his age -- do intend to fall off from him upon the best opportunitie and call on Mr. Savage, who hath promised absolutelie to give waye to yo^r ld sps request".² Reed was active in promoting Harley's candidature, for he obtained the support both of Mrs. Savage and Mr. William Langston, and advised Conway to speak with Creswell in London. It is possible that Conway also obtained the support of the High Steward, Lewis Bayley, Bishop of Bangor.³ As a consequence of this activity, Harley was returned.

As in the past two elections, many 'courtiers' continued to be elected for boroughs within the jurisdiction of the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster. The Council in the North would also appear to have a certain measure of success. James Howell, a secretary of the Lord President,⁴ was chosen a member for Richmond in Yorkshire, in spite of the opposition of the popular candidate Christopher Wandesford and "other powerful men".⁵ Howell's election was almost certainly secured through the influence of Lord Scrope, the Lord President, who was constable of Richmond castle, and held the office of Bailiff and Steward of the liberty of Richmond.⁶ Sir Arthur Ingram, one of the secretaries of the council,⁷ was returned for the first seat at York, while Thomas Alured, an

1. D. Mathew, The Jacobean Age, p. 271.

2. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/93/32.

3. May, op. cit., p. 258. n. 508.

4. D.N.B., X. 110.

5. C. Clarkson, The History and Antiquities of Richmond, App. A. 49.

6. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1625-6, p. 541.

7. Ibid., 1627-8., p. 32.

Auditor- of the Court of Marches in Wales¹ was chosen at Heydon. It is possible that their local connections assisted their return. Three other members of the Council in the North - Sir Christopher Hilliard, Sir John Jackson and Sir William Alford² - were returned for Yorkshire boroughs, probably, however, because of their local influence.

Approximately more than ninety 'courtiers' were returned. Thus there was little appreciable difference between the total numbers of 'courtiers' elected for the 1626 and 1628 parliaments. This refutes Gardiner's statement that "the elections with a few rare exceptions - went against the Crown".³ At Aylesbury, where Clement Coke - a son of Sir Edward - and Arthur Goodwin of Woburn had been elected in 1626,⁴ a courtier Sir Edmund Verney of Middle Claydon, Knight Marshal of the King's Palace,⁵ was elected in 1628. Sir John Rous, who had sat for Dunwich in Suffolk in the two previous parliaments, complained that the bailiffs "have chosen their burgesses that is S^r Robert Brooke and one Winterton, a servant to my Ladye Denbye, it is too longe to relate how vilely they have used me. I heere your country [Norfolk] have made better choyce of ther Burgesses than wee have, for I thinke of forteene, tenne of them are courtiers".⁶

Fewer privy councillors were, however, elected. Sir John Coke and Sir Humphrey May were chosen for Cambridge University and Leicester respectively, while Sir Thomas Edmondes, who had failed to carry Essex, was chosen for Penryn. Sir Francis Cottington,

1. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 75.

2. R.R. Reid, The King's Council in the North, App. pp. 496-8.

3. Gardiner, op. cit., VI. 229.

4. Gibbs, op. cit., p. 143.

5. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1625-6., p. 561.

6. B.M., Egerton MS. 2714. f. 422.

one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in the Duchy of Cornwall,¹ was returned for Saltash, and in November he was appointed a Privy Councillor.² It is, however, quite possible that Sir Richard Weston, who was shortly afterwards promoted to the House of Lords, Sir Robert Naunton and Sir Julius Caesar made no attempt to secure ~~4~~ seats. Sir John Savile of Howley, Comptroller of the Royal Household, and on 8 November created a Privy Councillor,³ was defeated in Yorkshire county by Sir Thomas Wentworth, but this was essentially a personal contest.

In Essex, the J.P.'s received a command from the Privy Council to attend at Chelmsford on 4 March, where they would receive instructions touching the election of the Knights of the Shire. Some of the Justices wrote to the High Constables "to entreate the freeholders within yo^r hundred to give their attendance with us at the said daye and place, and to give their voices for such gentlemen to bee knyghts as shall bee agreed upon by the more part of the Justices of the peace of this Countrie".⁴ The court also enlisted the support of the sheriff who "had a purpose there to make a secret election for the parliament, of some persons that they did not like".⁵ To prevent this choice, a contemporary, Mr. Beaulieu, reported that "all the freeholders, to the number of 1000 to 1200, repaired presently thither --- and to have named Sir Francis Barrington and Sir Harbottle Grimston in their places. But, finding that the sheriff had not yet received the writs, they all repaired back to their several houses".⁶ The two popular candidates, Barrington and Grimston,

1. Duchy of Cornwall, Commissioners of the Revenue 1625-6, f. 31.

2. D.N.B., IV. 1219.

3. G.E.C., Complete Peerage., XI. 460.

4. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/95/35. Among the J.P.'s who subscribed were Sir Thomas Wiseman and Sir William Maxey.

5. Ibid., I. 323.

Court --- Charles I, I. 333.

6. Ibid.

were eventually returned. There is no evidence that the Privy Council intervened in any other county election. Porritt incorrectly states that a similar attempt was made in thirteen other counties.¹ The Lord-Lieutenants of several counties tried to bring pressure to bear on the electorate.² They may possibly have been acting on government instructions.

The Earl of Pembroke, as Lord-Lieutenant of Cornwall, intervened in the county election,³ probably on behalf of Sir Richard Edgecumbe and John Mohun - local gentry, who organised opposition to the popular candidates, Sir John Eliot and William Coryton. There was a small and vigorous group of local gentry in the West country who were sympathetic towards the government, and assisted in the return of 'courtiers'. It would appear that such activity was spontaneous and did not derive from government instructions. Sir James Bagg, for instance, was prominent in placing 'courtiers' in several boroughs. He wrote to Buckingham: "I have presented yo^u with foure Burgessships, one my self serving for Plimpton, Sir Francis Cottington for Saltash, two blankes, one for Lowe, the other for Probus, in w^{ch} yo^u may (if yo^u so please) appoint M^r Packer, Captaine Heydon or Sir Robert Pye -- ".⁴ John Packer, one of Buckingham's secretaries, was elected for West Looe and Sir Cottington for Saltash, where the Mayor gave Bagg the seat in opposition to Sir Richard Buller, the recorder of the borough, and several others.⁵ It has not been possible to identify Probus.

1. E. and A.G. Porritt, The Unreformed House of Commons, 1. 385.

His sources P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/95/31 and 66 refer to the forced loan and not to attempts to influence the election; cf. Forster, op. cit., 11. 102.

2. Court and Times of Charles I., 1. 331-2.

3. Ibid.

4. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/96/36.

5. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1628-9., p. 65.

Local court sympathisers also wrote to the Mayor of Corrington [Callington] recommending J.T. [probably John Trelawney] to stand as a burgess.¹

Opposition to the court was strongest in London and neighbouring areas; thus the Cinque Ports elected fewer courtiers than usual. At Westminster, Buckingham tried to secure the return of Sir Robert Pye. The Rev. Joseph Mead reported that "the election continued three days, and when Sir Robert Pye's party cried "A Pye! a Pye! a Pye! " the adverse party would cry "A pudding! a pudding! a pudding! " and others, "A lie! a lie! a lie!" In fine, Bradshaw a brewer, and Maurice a grocer, carried it from him by above a thousand voices; they passing by also, Sir Robert Cotton, and besides Mr. Man, and Mr. Hayward, who were their last burgesses, because as is said, they had discontented their neighbours in urging the payment of the loan. It is feared, saith mine author, because such patriots are chosen everywhere, the parliament will not last above eight days".² It has been suggested that Sir Robert Cotton was passed over because he did not openly oppose the loan.³

London invariably returned its recorder as one of the city's representatives, but in 1628, he was Sir Heneage Finch, Speaker in the 1626 parliament⁴ and a strong courtier, and he was "with great disgrace" rejected.⁵ Mr. Herbert wrote to Lord Fairfax that the city "would not endure to have him in the nomination, for they find he hath relation to whom they do not affect".⁶

1. B.M., Harleian MSS. 4771. f. 13; B.M., Add.MSS. 36, 825.f.21b.

2. Court and Times of Charles I., I. 327.

3. Forster, op. cit., II. 100.

4. D.N.B., VII. 7-8.

5. Memoirs of the reign of Charles the First [Fairfax Correspondence, I and II, to 1642] ed. G. W. Johnson, I. 89.

6. Ibid.

Instead, two aldermen, Monson and Clitherowe, together with James Bunce, a leatherseller and Captain Henry Waller, Sir John Eliot's friend,¹ were elected.

Hostility to Buckingham was naturally found among many of the nobility, who disliked the usurpation of power by the royal favourite. It is probable that some of them used their influence to secure the return of popular candidates. Sir James Bagg reported that the Earl of Warwick was in communication with Eliot, Coryton and Sir Ferdinando Gorges. "These are reporters of the Earl's little affection to the King's service, and greater attachment to the Duke's enemies".² Sir Allan Apsley, Lieutenant of the Tower, wrote to the Earl of Dorchester: "The Lord Lester (as I take it) got a burgesses place for Mr. Percy presuming he would have run the same way as they did that hated the Duke. But my son being his bedfellow persuaded him the contrary for his best -- . My son was by Mr. Alford (one of the faction) offered a burgesses place provided he should have given his voice against the Duke, which he detested to do or accept".³

It is generally accepted that a large proportion of those imprisoned for refusing to pay the forced loan, were returned to the parliament of 1628. Rushworth wrote: "As fast as Writs came to the Counties and Boroughs to choose members for parliament, these gentlemen who suffered for the Loan were chiefly in the people's eyes to be elected to serve for them in the ensuing Parliament, to present their grievances and to assert their liberties".⁴ This judgement was confirmed by Gardiner, who wrote "those who had refused the loan were sure of seats".⁵ A list of seventy-six names

1. Forster, op. cit., II. 100.

2. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8., p. 143.

3. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/139/19. Henry Percy was returned for Marlborough in Wiltshire at a by-election.

4. J. Rushworth, Historical Collections 1703-8., I. 476.

5. Gardiner, op. cit., VI. 229; Cal. S.P. Ven., 1627-8., p. 605.

of those discharged on 2 January 1628 for refusing to pay included those of twenty-five knights and fifteen esquires.¹ Of the twenty-five knights, eighteen were chosen to represent constituencies in parliament, and of the esquires, four out of fifteen. Of the remainder only one, Alderman Bunce, was elected. Of the eighteen knights elected in 1628, two had previously sat in 1625, four in 1626 and ten in both these parliaments, while only two - Sir Edward Ascough and Sir John Haveningham, had not previously sat in either parliament. Four of the seven knights imprisoned but not returned in 1628 had been chosen in one or both of the two previous elections. Of the four esquires elected in 1628, two had previously sat in both 1625 and 1626, while one had been elected to the first parliament of the reign. Two imprisoned esquires - John Dutton and Henry Poole - not returned in 1628, had previously sat in the parliament of 1625.²

The government imprisoned only leaders of the resistance to the forced loan; therefore it is likely that they came from the 'parliamentary class' and would have been returned for constituencies irrespective of their opposition to the loan. Commissioners for the loan found no difficulty in obtaining seats. A list of commissioners for the loan in the West Riding of Yorkshire includes the names of Sir Henry Savile, elected in a by-election for Yorkshire, Sir Christopher Hilliard for Heydon, Sir Ferdinando Fairfax for Boroughbridge, Sir John Lowther for Westmoreland and William Mallory for Ripon.³ The majority of boroughs were closed corporations and were unlikely to be affected by political considerations; thus at New Windsor, Humphrey Newbery, the 1626 member, who had been summoned to appear before the Privy Council because of his disaffection to the loan⁴ was replaced in 1628 by Sir William Beecher, a clerk of the Privy Council.⁵ It is probable, however, that in the counties and larger cities, opposition to the loan was an aid to nomination.

1. A.P.C., 1627-8., pp.217-8.

2. Vide, App., lv below.

3. A.P.C., 1627., p. 243-4

4. Ibid., p. 66.

5. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1619-23, p.483.

Evidence of twenty contested elections has been found. As in the previous elections the great majority of these were contests between local gentry and burgesses. However, the number of disputes over the exercising of the franchise within boroughs suggests a growing political consciousness. Thus, at Gatton in Surrey, two indentures were returned, one by the inhabitants, the other solely by the lord of the manor, Mr. Copley.¹ Mr. Owfield of Gatton and Sir Charles Howard of Putney Park in Surrey and Newlodge in Berkshire,² were returned by the inhabitants, while Sir Thomas Lake and Jerome Weston were chosen by Copley, who insisted that he was the sole inhabitant and alone had the right to return members. The Committee of Privileges however, resolved that those who possessed land "in their own manurance" had the right to vote and the Commons accordingly voided the election of Lake and Jerome.³

Similarly, at Colchester in Essex, the disputed election resolved itself into the question of who had the right to exercise the franchise. The Bailiffs, Aldermen and Common Council, consisting of 42, read the writ in an upper room and there elected Sir Thomas Cheeke and Mr. Alford, while in a lower room, the common sort of burgesses in general elected Sir Thomas Cheeke and Sir William Masham.⁴ The Commons decided that the election of Sir William Masham was good and ordered that his name should be inserted in place of Mr. Alford.⁵

At Coventry the two sheriffs returned severally two indentures - one sheriff returned Isaac Walden and Thomas Potter,

1. C.J. 1. 875; B.M., Harleian MSS. 2313. f.1.

2. O. R., 1. 471., 478.

3. C.J., 1. 875.

4. Ibid., 1. 876; B.M., Harleian MSS. 2313. f. 8b.

5. Ibid.

the other, William Purefoy and Richard Green, Walden, a member of the Drapers' Company, was an alderman and had been elected Mayor in 1620,¹ while Potter, a benefactor of the town, had been Mayor in 1622.² Purefoy and Green were neighbouring landed gentry - the former, who lived at Caldecote Manor House, was a strong Puritan,³ while Green possessed an estate at Wyken.⁴ About six hundred voters were present; Green and Walden contested one seat in which Green received 367 votes and his opponent 29. A poll was also demanded on behalf of Purefoy, who apparently obtained a majority of the votes cast. Nevertheless, one of the sheriffs, misled by the statute of I Henry V, which provided that members must be resident, returned Walden and Potter. The House of Commons decided that a rigid interpretation of the statute was not applicable and confirmed the election of Purefoy and Green.⁵

At Newport in Cornwall, five indentures were returned.⁶ Those for Nicholas Trefusis and Sir William Killigrew were returned by the sheriff, the other indentures for Piers Edgecumbe, Sir John Wolstenholme and John Herne, were brought to the Clerk of the Crown but not by the sheriff. Apparently, the two vianders

1. T.W. Whitley, The Parliamentary Representation of the City of Coventry, p. 74.
2. Ibid., p. 75.
3. Ibid., pp. 75-6.
4. Ibid., p. 76.
5. C.J. 1. 880. This account has been supplemented by that of a parliamentary news-letter. B.M., Harleian MSS. 4771.f.70.
6. C.J. I. 883. The printed Commons' Journal only records the return of four indentures. The information contained in the printed Journal is very meagre and has been supplemented by parliamentary news-letters. B.M., Harleian MSS. 4771.f.81b.; B.M., Stowe MSS. 367.f.45 seqq.; B.M., Harleian MSS. 1601.f.4b.

claimed the right to make the election providing they could agree on a choice of candidates. If they failed to do so, the right of election lay with the freeholders. On this occasion they disagreed; Sir John Eliot was present at the election and described the scene: "In that election they were all willing to confer the first place upon me, having formerly served them; but, being otherwise elected, I desired them to put it upon a neighbour-in the country; and he for the first place was chosen with the general consent of all. For the second place, there was in competition Sir William Killigrew and Mr. Edgecumbe".¹ One account of the election records that there were twelve freeholders present, of whom, four voted for Killigrew and five for Edgecumbe. After dinner Killigrew received an additional two votes. The Commons decided that Edgecumbe was well elected, but in the meantime Sir William Killigrew had chosen to sit for Penryn. It is possible that Eliot, who secured the return of Trefusis, used his influence to prevent the election of Killigrew, who favoured the court.²

Apart from the Essex, Cornwall, Westminster and possibly Newport borough elections, none of the remainder appear to be concerned with political or religious issues. It is true that the Tuscan representative reported: "The usual tumults are taking place in the provinces on the election of members, with every appearance of the success of the Puritanical party, which will be in the ascendant, predominating over that of the Established Church".³

1. B.M., Harleian MSS. 6799, f.335b. qu. in Forster, op. cit.,

II. 107. The printed Commons' Journal does not mention this speech.

2. There was a similar dispute over the franchise at Warwick.

3. H.M.C., 11th. Rep., App., pt. I. 139.

This suggestion that the election was essentially a struggle between rival religious bodies is not confirmed by other contemporary sources. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that the religious factor was of little consequence. Although the strongest single bond unifying the House of Commons was a hatred of popery, this did not prevent the election to parliament of Sir Richard Molyneux, Sir Henry Spiller and Sir Richard Titchbourne.¹ The most important factor which emerges from a study of the parliamentary elections at this period is the dominance in English society of the landed gentry.

1. B.M., Add. MSS. 22, 474. f. 159. seqq. The wives of Molyneux and Titchbourne were recusants. The three members were accused of recusancy in the parliament of 1626.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN THE CINQUE PORTS AND THE DUCHY OF
LANCASTER.

The Cinque Ports.

The parliamentary history of the Cinque Ports during the early Stuart period presents a clear picture and shows a two-fold development - firstly, the steady but piecemeal encroachment by the Lords Warden culminating in the claim to a prescriptive right to nominate one member for each Port, and, secondly, an increasing opposition among some of the Ports to such a claim. The Cinque Ports, consisting of the seven towns of Hastings, Dover, New Romney, Sandwich, Hythe, Winchelsea and Rye each sent two representatives to Parliament, known as barons. They were under the jurisdiction of a Lord Warden¹ - an office, combining some of the functions of a Lord-Lieutenant and a Sheriff, always filled by someone closely connected with the court. The Lord Warden held a key position in parliamentary elections. Thus the writ for election was directed to him, whereupon he issued a precept for election to the appropriate officer in each port, and the returns were made to him as the general returning officer.² He was a powerful patron, who could and did protect the interests of the Ports.³ Hence it is not surprising that a resolution passed at a brotherhood assembly in 1572 to choose as barons only resident freemen or counsel employed by the Ports⁴ should have proved a dead letter through the practice of admitting as freemen the

1. List of Lord Wardens

Earl of Northampton.	Jan. 1604-1614.	G.E.C., <u>Complete Peerage</u> , IX. 676.
Lord Zouch.	1614-1625.	D.N.B., XXI. 1331.
Duke of Buckingham.	1625-1628.	D.N.B., XX. 332.

2. K.M.E. Murray, Constitutional History of the Cinque Ports, p.95.

3. J. Lyon, History of the town and port of Dover, II. 186-7.

4. W. Boys, Collections for a History of Sandwich, II. 774.

Lord Warden's parliamentary nominees.

Sandwich adopted a more independent attitude than the other boroughs, and continued to elect local men until 1601.¹ In that year, however, the corporation decreed that the Lord Warden could nominate one of its barons to parliament, a privilege which the Lord Warden was claiming in the other ports.² By 1614 a piecemeal encroachment had been transformed into a definite right, and the Lord Warden wrote to Hythe nominating Sir Lionel Cranfield "according to the auncient usage and privilege that my selfe and my predecessors have ever had in the noiacon [nomination] of one of the Barons to be elected in the severall Ports".³ This claim was implicitly recognised by the brotherhood assembly meeting at New Romney in 1615, when the Ports agreed that if the Lord Warden requested the nomination of a baron, any Port could grant him such a request, if it is so desired.⁴

An early seventeenth century writer declared that the "Lord Warden doth comonly recommend 14 Burgesses to the Parliament, seldome, or never denied him, unlesse it bee upon some greate distast betwixt him, and the Ports".⁵ This was not a reflection of existing practice. Certainly in 1614 Dover had agreed to elect two crown nominees,⁶ and in 1620 Lord Zouch had recommended two candidates each to Rye and Hythe,⁷ but it was clearly stated that the choice of the second nominee was a favour and not a

1. J.E. Neale, The Elizabethan House of Commons, p. 220.

2. Boys, op. cit., II. 702.

3. G. Wilks, Parliamentary Representation of Hythe, p. 66.

4. B.M., Add. MSS. 29, 622. f. 113.

5. B.M., Egerton MSS. 2026. f. 41. qu. in Murray, op. cit., p. 96.

Murray wrongly gives the date as 1624.

6. J. Bavington Jones, Annals of Dover, p. 381.

7. Wilks, op. cit., p. 69.

prescriptive right. Thus, in a letter supporting Sir Peter Hayman's claims, the Lord Warden wrote - "if you shall for my sake elect him for the Burgesse of whom yourselves have the sole nomination (reserving to me the place of another for such as I shall appoint), it shalbe no p^rjudice to your priviledge in future tymes".¹ So it proved, for in 1624 only one letter of recommendation was sent to these Ports, and while writing to Dover corporation for the election of Sir Richard Yonge, the Lord Warden speaks "of the aunciente custome the Lord Warden hath had the nominatinge of one from tyme to tyme".²

The Lord Warden also interfered in the internal government of the Ports. The normal practice for a 'foreigner' elected as baron was to proceed to the port immediately after the election, and take his oath as a freeman. The two Barons for Hythe in 1614 refrained from visiting the borough - consequently the Mayor had to travel to London to administer the oath.³ By 1620 Lord Zouch was writing to the same port: "I thinke it needlesse for him to be sworne a freeman of y^r Towne".⁴ Although the Duke of Buckingham did not adopt such an extreme position, he wrote in 1625 to the town of Winchelsea on behalf of Sir Ralph Freeman: "if yo^w would have him sworne a freeman of y^r towne, I pray send hether a Commission to that purpose".⁵

There had been occasional resistance to the Lord Warden's nominations. In the 1621 election there was opposition at Sandwich and Winchelsea. At the former, "there was difficulty in obtaining the return of Sir Robert Hatton, --- . The Mayor,

1. Ibid., pp. 70-1.

2. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 14/158/21.

3. Wilks, op. cit., p. 68.

4. Ibid. p. 70.

5. B.M., Add. MSS. 37,819. f. 12.

who forwarded him, was abused, as sacrificing the liberties of the town".¹ Local feeling also ran high at Winchelsea. John Philpot reported that "though the people are factious and grumbling, they recognize superior authority".² The degree of subservience and independence depended on local conditions. The governing bodies of the Ports differed both in numbers and composition - a variety reflected in the parliamentary franchise. Until 1621 in Sandwich and 1624 in Dover, the vote was exercised by the select body, and afterwards by the mayor, jurats and freemen.³ It is probable that the mayor, jurats and freemen elected the barons in the other ports.⁴

The Duke of Buckingham was the Lord Warden during the parliamentary election of 1625.⁵ An analysis of the barons returned indicates that he was uniformly successful in nominating one candidate for each of the Ports, and in two boroughs - Dover and Sandwich - both representatives were courtiers. Buckingham recommended two nominees for several ports. At Hythe, at an assembly held on 14th. April, the Mayor read to the Jurats and Commoners two letters, the first, from the Lord Warden supporting Edward Clarke;⁶ the other, from a neighbouring landlord, Sir Norton Knatchbull, for Sir Edward Dering.⁷ Clarke, a gentleman of the bedchamber under James I,⁸ had been employed to carry instructions into Spain about the postponement of the marriage

1. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1619-23, p. 213.

2. Ibid., 1619-23, p. 197.

3. W. Taffs, Borough Franchise in the first half of the Seventeenth Century. (M.A. Thesis, University of London, 1926), p. 103.

4. Ibid.

5. D.N.B., XX. 327.

6. Wilks, op. cit., p. 76.

7. Ibid.

8. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 40.

between Prince Charles and the Infanta,¹ and was to be imprisoned in the forthcoming parliament for an injudicious speech in defence of his patron.² Dering, from Surrenden in Kent,³ was "religious, learned, stoute" and more important, as Sir Norton was careful to point out, the Lord Warden would not take his election amiss, as Dering had recently married into his family.⁴ A few days later the corporation received another letter from Buckingham on behalf of Sir Allan Apsley, Lieutenant of the Tower,⁵ in which was stressed the important services such an individual could render to the town.⁶ If his request was granted, "it shall not only be no p^rjudice to yo^r privilege and freedome in this kind for the future ---". Apsley also wrote to the corporation offering, if elected, to serve them faithfully.⁷ On receipt of these last letters, the Mayor, Commoners and freemen again assembled and confirmed the former election, although in a letter of apology to Apsley, the corporation hinted that they might have satisfied his "reasonable request" had his letter come in time.⁸

At Winchelsea, where the right of parliamentary election was in the Mayor, Jurats and Freemen,⁹ Buckingham sent a letter recommending Sir Ralph Freeman,¹⁰ a Master of Requests,¹¹ who was

1. D.N.B., IV. 420.

2. C.J., I. 812.

3. Visitation of Kent --- [in] 1619, (Harleian Soc. Pub., vol. XLII), p. 208.

4. Wilks, op. cit., p. 76.

5. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1611-18., p. 441.

6. Wilks, op. cit., p. 77.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., pp. 78-9.

9. W.D. Cooper, The History of Winchelsea, p. 241.

10. B.M., Add. MSS. 37, 819. f. 12.

11. D.N.B., VII. 680-1.

accordingly chosen. His colleague was Sir Roger Twyaden of Roydon Hall in East Peckham in Kent.¹ At Dover, the Lieutenant of the Tower was normally elected as one of the barons.² Accordingly, Sir John Hippisley was chosen. With him sat Sir William Beecher, one of the clerks of the privy council³ and a Master of Requests,⁴ and undoubtedly a nominee of the Lord Warden.

The position was different at Rye. Here the Lord Warden faced competition from the Earl of Dorset, joint Lord-Lieutenant of Sussex in 1625,⁵ who had a close connection with the borough.⁶ On 1 April - before the writ of election had reached the borough - Dorset wrote to the corporation recommending his kinsman, Captain John Sackville,⁷ of Suddlescomb in Sussex.⁸ He probably had local connections, since Dorset states that he was well known to some of the townsmen. Two days later, a letter arrived from Sir James Ley, the Lord High Treasurer, who requested that after the corporation had chosen the Lord Warden's nominee, the second place should go to Emmanuel Gifford, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber under James I,⁹ who had previously represented the borough in 1621,¹⁰ and who was prepared to serve again without payment.¹¹ On 9 April John Angel, the corporation's baron in the two previous parliaments¹² and the son of King James's fishmonger,¹³ wrote offering his services.

1. Ibid., XIX. 1332.

2. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1619-23., p. 192.

3. Ibid., 1619-23., p. 480.

4. Ibid., 1623-25, p. 156.

5. A.P.C., 1625-26, p. 298.

6. L.A. Vidler, A New History of Rye, p. 72.

7. Rye Corporation Records, Bundle 29. No. 7.

8. W.A. Shaw, Knights. II. 194.

9. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 39b.

10. O.R., I. 455.

11. Rye Corporation Records. Bundle 29. No. 8.

12. O.R., I. 455, 461.

13. H.M.C., 13th. Rep., App. pt. IV. 158.

Two days later letters arrived from the Lord Warden, in one of which he spoke of "The respect which yow have heretofore showed unto my predecessors upon their recommendation of a worthy man to be by yow chosen to serve in Parliament as one of the Burgesses of your Towne".¹ His request for Thomas Fotherley, probably of Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire,² and one of his servants, was supplemented by a letter from Edward Nicholas, the Duke's secretary, who wrote "out of my affection of your Town, as to my well-wishing of Mr. Thomas Fotherley --- to let you understand that he is one of my Lords Commissioners for his estate, and in very great esteem with his Grace, besides he is Mr. Lieutenant's brother-in-law".³ In his second letter to the corporation, Buckingham recommended Sir John Franklyn, declaring that although he did not desire more respect than his predecessors had usually received, that if the corporation acceded to his request, it would not prejudice them in the future for their privileges and freedom.⁴ A week later the corporation received a letter from John Halsey,⁵ a benefactor of the port,⁶ in support of his kinsman John Angel. Rye, however, could not afford to offend two such powerful patrons as Buckingham and Dorset, and consequently elected Thomas Fotherley and Captain John Sackville.

At Sandwich two courtiers were elected: Sir Henry Wotton, who had held several ambassadorial posts,⁷ and had been appointed Provost of Eton in the previous year,⁸ and Sir Robert Hatton of Bishopsbourne in Kent,⁹ member for the borough in 1621,¹⁰ and later

1. Rye Corporation Records. Bundle 29. No. 11.

2. Visitation of Hertfordshire --- [in] 1634, (Harl. Soc. Pub., vol. XX), p. 144.

3. Rye Corporation Records. Bundle 29. No. 12.

4. Ibid., Bundle 29. No. 10. 5. Ibid., Bundle 29. No. 13.

6. Vidler, op. cit., p. 72.

7. D.N.B., XXI. 967.

8. Ibid., XX. 969.

9. J.C. Wedgwood, 'Staffordshire Parliamentary History',
(Wm. Salt. Arch. Soc.), II. 45.

10. O.R., I. 455.

Surveyor of the Queen's Household.¹ Hastings adopted its usual practice of electing one crown and one local representative. Thus the return of Sackville Crowe of Laugharne in Carmarthenshire,² a servant of Buckingham,³ and later Treasurer of the Navy,⁴ was balanced by that of Nicholas Eversfield of Grove in Sussex, who held lands in Hastings⁵ and had been High Sheriff of the county in 1619.⁶ New Romney also returned a courtier - Sir Edmund Verney, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber⁷ who had gone with Prince Charles to Spain in 1623⁸ - while his colleague was Richard Godfrey, third son of Thomas Godfrey of Lydd in Kent,⁹ who possibly had local connections with the borough.

While in 1625 the majority of the barons were nominees of the Lord Warden, to whom there had been no opposition, the pattern changes in the two following elections, and several of the ports begin to assert their independence. The growth of an independent spirit was neither uniform nor continuous, for Dover, which had rejected the Lord Warden's nominee in 1626, repented by 1628.

It is possible that the increased opposition was associated with the deterioration in trade consequent upon the wars with France and Spain, and with the disorders caused by soldiers and sailors in these ports. At an assembly held at Rye on 19 November 1627 it was moved "considering the great ruin and decay of our town, and our inability to repair and maintain the same, that some course might be taken to procure a brief to help us".¹⁰ A petition from the inhabitants of the Cinque Ports

1. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1629-31, p. 37.

2. G.E.C., Complete Bart., II. 29.

3. H.M.C., 12th. Rpt., App., pt. IX. 475.

4. P.R.O., E.403/2456. f. 142.

5. J. Comber, Sussex Genealogies, p. 94.

6. P.R.O., Lists and Indexes. IX. 138. 7. P.R.O., LC 2/6.f.71b.

8. H.M.C., 3rd. Rpt., App., p. 284.

9. Archaeologia Cantiana. XXVII. 54.

10. W. Holloway, The History and Antiquities of the --- Port of Rye, p. 339.

in the same year "set forth their miserable condition from the force and fury of the Dunkirkers, who had taken their goods, imprisoned their mariners, and fired and sunk divers ships and barks".¹ Furthermore, two hundred men had been imprisoned from the Ports for foreign service. On 12 December 1627 the Mayor and Jurats of Hastings complained that a hundred soldiers were to be billeted on them, that the town was impoverished and that many of the better sort had departed to avoid danger and expense.² Probably the electorate was influenced to a certain extent by these conditions.

For the 1626 election Buckingham sent letters to every port recommending one candidate, with the exception of Rye, where he tried to place two courtiers. Here, the corporation received a letter from the Lord Warden dated 10 January - the one letter containing both recommendations, and without the acknowledgement that the choice of the second Baron lay with the borough. Indeed, the wording seemed to imply that the right of nominating both rested with the Lord Warden: "I have thought (assuring myself of ye like respect and esteeme from yow, as you have ever given to my predecessors) to recommend unto you for Burgesses --- Thomas Fotherley, Esq., a freeman of your Corporacion --- and in ye second place Mr. Tho: Allured a worthy gent ---".³ Alured, an Auditor in the Court of the Marches of Wales⁴ had written to Sir John Coke on 26 December 1625: "Let me put you in mind of making me a burgess".⁵ Rye Corporation elected Fotherley, and rejected Alured in favour of Captain John Sackville.

1. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8, p. 240.

2. Ibid., 1627-8, p. 446; cf Ibid., 1627-8, p. 484.

3. Rye Corporation Records. Bundle 29/2. The name of Thos. Alured is wrongly given as Thomas Allan in H.M.C., 13th. Rpt., App.pt.IV. 176.

4. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 75.

5. H.M.C., 12th. Rpt., App., pt. I. 240.

At Winchelsea, Buckingham recommended Sir Nicholas Saunders of Ewell in Surrey,¹ whose daughter Isabella had married Sir Roger Twysden,² his Parliamentary colleague. At Dover, however, the Lord Warden's nominee - Sir William Beecher - was rejected. Sir John Hippisley writing to Buckingham mentions a "faction made upon a sudden when I was confident as ever was man, to have put us bothe out".³ Shortly afterwards he reported: "Ffor the towne of Dover I thinke thaye are all sorry for what thaye have done, and I heare that thaye have done the like at Hide, all wch was for wante of yo^r letters in tyme".⁴ This seems to imply that Dover failed to receive the Lord Warden's letter of recommendation, but it is possible that Hippisley communicated Beecher's name directly to the corporation. There were three candidates for one of the seats - Sir William Beecher, Manning and Prinsell [John Pringle]⁵, a Dover Jurat, who was elected.⁶ Hippisley later objected to Manning's nomination as one of the canopy bearers for Dover in the coronation ceremony, as being of too low a stature, and of having been instrumental in causing Sir William Beecher to lose his election.⁷

At Hythe, the writ for a parliamentary election was received on 7 January.⁸ The following day, an Assembly met consisting of the Mayor, Jurats, Commoners and, for the first time, freemen, and as no letter of recommendation had been received from the Lord Warden, proceeded to elect Sir Peter Hayman, who had previously sat for the borough in 1624,⁹ and Basil Dixwell, owner of the

1. B.M., Add. MSS. 37,819. f.17b.

2. Visitation of Kent -- [in 1619], p. 136.

3. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/18/37.

4. Ibid. 16/18/58.

5. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1625-6, p. 222.

6. Bavington Jones, op. cit., p. 382.

7. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1625-6, p. 232.

8. Wilks, op. cit., p. 74.

9. O.R., I. 461.

adjoining manor of Folkestone.¹ On 11 January the Lord Warden's letter recommending Sir Richard Weston, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was received.² On the twelfth another assembly was held, and it was resolved to confirm the previous election.³ A letter of apology was sent to Buckingham, stating that they would have "willingly accepted" Sir Richard Weston had his letter come in time.⁴ Hippisley spoke of Sir Peter Hayman and Dixwell as "two men that I dare answere for to be yo^r servantes"⁵ - a statement disproved by Hayman's subsequent career.⁶

The position at New Romney was very similar. The corporation received its parliamentary writ on the eighth, and waited until the following Wednesday - the eleventh - before making its choice.⁷ In a letter of explanation to Buckingham, the Mayor wrote that in default of his letter they had chosen Richard Godfrey - their baron in the two preceeding parliaments and a jurat of the town, and Captain Thomas Brett of London, four of whose family had previously been mayors of the borough.⁸ Brett, who was described as a good friend of the Duke,⁹ was also chosen for Grimsby, but elected to serve for New Romney. The Mayor concluded: "we shalbe ever hereafter willing and ready to doe yo^r grace any service wee maie".¹⁰

1. Wilks, op. cit., p. 72.

2. Ibid., p. 73.

3. Ibid.

4. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/18/60. 5. Ibid.

6. Rushworth, op. cit., I. 278. For refusing to pay the forced loan Hayman was sent to the Palatinate. In the same year - 1627 - he wrote to Nicholas "He has ever honoured the Duke's greatness, wished the best to his fortunes". Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8., p. 530.

7. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/18/97.

8. Archaeologia Cantiana XXVII. 53-4.

9. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8., p. 506.

10. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/18/97.

Hastings, however, waited for the Lord Warden's letter of recommendation for Sir Dudley Carleton, the Vice-Chamberlain of the King's household,¹ and then elected him, together with Eversfield, their baron in 1625. When Carleton was created a peer, Walter Montague - "a creature of the Duke"² - and his unsuccessful nominee at New Romney, was recommended by Buckingham and elected.³

Sandwich chose Sir John Suckling, Comptroller of his Majesty's Household,⁴ the Duke's nominee, and Peter Peake, the town clerk of Sandwich,⁵ whose family had long been connected with the borough. Suckling was returned both for Norwich and Sandwich, and chose to sit for the former. On 9 February Buckingham sent a letter to the port acknowledging "a better measure of respecte from your Towne, than from most of the Cinque Ports"⁶ and proceeded to recommend Sir Henry Mildmay, Master of his Majesty's Jewel House.⁷ Whether the example of some of the other ports affected Sandwich or not, Mildmay was rejected in favour of Sir Edward Boys of Nonnington in Kent,⁸ whose father had been recorder and town counsel of the borough from 1606 to 1612.⁹

It is certain that Buckingham gave little serious attention to the elections. It is possible that Hythe and New Romney would have returned government nominees had his

1. D.N.B., III. 998.

2. H.M.C., 11th. Rpt., App., pt. I. 78.

3. B.M., Add. MSS. 37, 819. f. 17b. The Official Returns do not record his election.

4. D.N.B., XIX. 141.

5. Boys, op. cit., I. 425.

6. B.M., Add. MSS. 37, 819. f. 19b.

7. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1611-18., p. 511.

8. Visitation of Kent --- [in] 1619., p. 40.

9. Boys, op. cit., I. 423.

letters arrived promptly, although the speed at which the election was rushed through at Hythe suggests that the corporation merely used the delay as a pretext - a conclusion confirmed by their attitude in the 1628 election.

With mounting opposition in the country, it would have been politic for Buckingham to have returned as many supporters as possible to the 1628 parliament. At Rye only one government candidate was nominated by the Lord Warden - Thomas Fotherley. The letter recommending him illustrates the mechanism of election nomination, for it was probably written on Fotherley's initiative: "Understanding by Thomas Fotherley, Esquire, his affeccion to yo^r Towne, I could not but recommend him to yo^r favour".¹ The Earl of Dorset again wrote in favour of his kinsman, Captain John Sackville, and enumerated the reasons why he should be chosen: "he ever hath beene very carefull you should have a pastor amongst you, which should preach gods word sincerely, and leade a quiet life amongst you; In the second place he is your countryman borne neare you, he lives heare, neere the Court, and upon all your busyness ready to be imployed by you and whereas heretofore it was objected that he was not fitt to serve, in regard he was here today and gonn tomorrow to his charge in the low Countries: now that block is removed, he hath put away his place and now hath no thing to doe but serve you".² The corporation, however, rejected him in favour of Richard Tufton of Hothfield in Kent.³

At Dover, prior to the election, Sir John Hippisley expressed the belief that he could secure the return of Sir William Beecher, but was uncertain about anyone else.⁴ The Lord Warden, however, recommended Sir John and Edward Nicholas,⁵ his secretary, both of whom were returned in an election described by the Mayor as "most free and general".⁶ At Winchelsea, Sir

1. Rye Corporation Records. Bundle 31/9.

2. Ibid., Bundle 31/8.

3. E. Hasted, History -- of the county of Kent, VI. 10.

4. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/91/91. 5. Ibid., 16/94/38.

6. Ibid., 16/95/37.

Ralph Freeman was elected, and was obviously the Lord Warden's nominee. His colleague was Sir William Twysden, one of the gentlemen ushers of the Privy Chamber under James I,¹ and father of Sir Roger,² the borough member in 1625 and 1626.

At Hythe and New Romney it is probable that the Lord Warden's nominees were rejected. Sir Peter Hayman, a baron for the port in 1626, and Sir Edward Scott of Scott's Hall in Kent³ were returned for Hythe, while Thomas Brett and Sir John Eliot's friend - Thomas Godfrey of Wye in Kent⁴ - were chosen for New Romney.

Hastings, however, returned John Ashburnham of Ashburnham in Sussex, a groom of the bedchamber to Charles I⁵ and related by marriage to the Lord Warden.⁶ Sandwich rejected Buckingham's nominee - Sir Edwin Sandys. The Mayor and jurats writing to Buckingham after the election explained that they endeavoured to return Sandys, "but the generallie of the voyces amongst the Commons bred such distraction, that wee could have noe power over them".⁷ Instead they returned John Philipott, the Somerset herald,⁸ who was King's bailiff and verger in Sandwich,⁹ and had written to the corporation volunteering his services.¹⁰ Joined with him was the town clerk, Peter Peake of Hills-court in Ash.¹¹ Only five nominees of the Lord Warden were returned in 1628 from four ports. When we contrast this with the nine (and possibly ten) returned in 1625, we have a measure of the increased opposition to his control.

1. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 70.

2. J.R. Twisden, The Family of Twysden and Twisden, p. 123.

3. Visitation of Kent --- [in] 1619, p. 129.

4. Forster, op. cit., II. 105.

5. M.A. Lowther, 'Notes on old Sussex Families', Sussex Arch. Collections XXIV. 3.

6. Gardiner, op. cit., VI. 181.

7. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/95/67. 8. H.M.C., 5th. Rpt., App., p. 570.

9. Boys, op. cit., I. 424.

10. H.M.C., 5th. Rpt., App., p. 570.

11. Boys, op. cit., I. 423.

The Duchy of Lancaster.

The Duchy of Lancaster, although its core lay in Lancashire, consisted also of estates in various parts of England. Its prime official - the Chancellor, Sir Humphrey May at this time,¹ - was able to exercise a real influence in many boroughs within his jurisdiction. His power varied with local conditions; nevertheless, in Lancashire at least his influence was dominant, and the support of the Duchy normally entailed the return of a candidate. Writs for election were issued from the Duchy office, and delivered by a Duchy messenger to the sheriff, through whom instructions could be issued to the borough.

In the debate in the House of Commons in May 1614 over the disputed election at Stockbridge, the Attorney-General had claimed that the Chancellor had a prescriptive right to nominate one Burgess in every Duchy town.² On 16 December 1620 Saville Radcliffe writing to Sir Richard Beaumont, who had asked for his assistance in the election at Clitheroe, declared that "Mr. Chancelor of the Duchie hath verie latelie written a letter to the baylives and burgesses thereby challenginge a right in the election for everie corporation within his countie".³ This prescriptive right was not generally admitted. Nevertheless, there is no evidence of any opposition to the Duchy over the period 1625-to 1628. Duchy nominees - primarily local officials or 'courtiers' - continued to be returned, although the system of Duchy patronage worked in a haphazard manner. Thus William Fanshawe, the Auditor of the Northern parts of the Duchy,⁴ who had sat for Clitheroe in 1625, found himself replaced the following year by another 'courtier' - George Kirke - probably because pressure compelled the Chancellor

1. D.N.B., XIII. 140-1. Sir Humphrey May was appointed Chancellor on 9 March 1618.

2. C.J., I. 478.

3. B.M., Add. MSS. 24,475. f. 97.

4. W.R. Williams, Official Lists of the Duchy and County Palatine of Lancaster [Lancaster Official Lists], p. 53.

to re-distribute the seats at his disposal. The support of the Duchy was in many boroughs an indispensable requisite for anyone seeking a seat, and most candidates had at least the goodwill of the Duchy.

To understand the complexities, it is necessary to study individual boroughs, each with its particular variation. Hence, although Duchy power was strongest in Lancashire - where the six boroughs, Clitheroe, Lancaster, Liverpool, Newton, Preston and Wigan were within the Duchy,- its influence was not uniform. At Clitheroe, the normal practice was to choose one Duchy and one local candidate. The members of parliament elected in 1625 were William Fanshawe, Auditor of the Northern parts of the Duchy, who had previously sat for Clitheroe in 1621 and 1624,¹ and Ralph Asheton of Kirby in Yorkshire, probably the younger son of Sir Richard Asheton of Middleton in Lancashire.² The Chancellor had also written to the corporation recommending Sir Thomas Trevor, one of the Auditors of the Duchy.³ It is not known whether a poll was taken, but in any case Sir Thomas was not returned. Although Asheton retained his seat in the following election, Fanshawe was replaced by George Kirke, a groom of the bedchamber under James I,⁴ whose election was declared void on 18 February 1626⁵ as he was not naturalised. It was resolved to issue a new writ, but no return has been found. In the 1628 election William Fanshawe volunteered his services to the borough: "being desirous to be a poore member, willing to doe all good offices for the King's tennts [tenants]".⁶ He almost certainly received

1. O.R., I 451, 458.

2. W.D. Pink and A.B. Beavan, Parliamentary Representation of Lancashire, 1295-1885, p. 252.

3. H.M.C., 14th. Rpt., App., pt. IV. 31.

4. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 71.

5. C.J., I. 821.

6. W.S. Weeks, Clitheroe in the 17th Century, II. 226.

official support. However, the first Duchy recommendation was for Henry Jermyn, second son of Sir Thomas Jermyn of Rushbrooke in Suffolk and Treasurer of the Household to Charles I.¹ A surviving poll book indicates the course of the election. For the first place Jermyn polled twelve votes, while his opponents William Nowell, Richard Aske and Richard Shuttleworth received three, one and nine respectively. For the second seat Nowell received eleven votes, Fanshawe eight, Aske and Ralph Asheton two and Thomas Carew and Henry Standen one apiece.² An analysis of the voting shows that all those who voted for Fanshawe had previously voted for Jermyn, with the exception of four - two of whom supported Nowell. Having elected one Duchy nominee, they preferred a local man for second place, for Nowell had been baptised at Clitheroe³ and was a burgess of the borough.⁴

At Liverpool, the Chancellor faced competition from William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby, Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire,⁵ and long a benefactor of the town. Although in the latter half of the sixteenth century the seats had usually been divided between the Earls of Derby and the Chancellor,⁶ a growing spirit of independence in the borough culminated in the election of 1604, when local members were chosen and their wages paid.⁷ The parliamentary franchise is uncertain - an indenture of 1621 was signed by the Mayor in the name of the bailiffs, aldermen and commonalty.⁸

1. W. A. Copinger, The Manors of Suffolk, I. 308.

2. Weeks, op. cit., II. 226-7.

3. Ibid., I. 140.

4. Ibid., II. 324.

5. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, IV. 213. Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire 1607-26. Joint Lord Lieutenant with his son 1626-42.

6. V.C.H., Lancashire, IV. 17.

7. J. Picton, Memorials of Liverpool -- (2nd. Edition), I. 73.

8. Taffs, op. cit., p. 158.

The Earls of Derby maintained a close connection with the borough. Thus in 1625 James Lord Strange, son of the sixth Earl,¹ was elected M.P. with Edward More of Bank Hall, near Liverpool,² a puritan and prominent local landowner, as his colleague. A new charter was obtained for the town in 1626, in which it was decreed that Lord Strange was to be the first Mayor.³ Consequently he was ineligible to represent Liverpool in the second parliament of Charles I. His place was taken by Thomas Standish of Duxbury, who held land of the Crown in the borough,⁴ with Edward Bridgeman, brother of the Bishop of Chester, as his colleague. It is possible that Bridgeman possessed the support of the Duchy. In 1628 the town would appear to have been completely subservient to Duchy influence. Two 'foreigners' were elected - Henry Jermyn, a gentleman in attendance on the embassy to Paris in 1624, and shortly after the election appointed vice-Chamberlain to the Queen⁵ - and John Newdigate of Arbury in Warwickshire.⁶

At Preston we can trace Duchy influence. Sir William Harvie of Ickworth in Suffolk,⁷ related by marriage to the Jermyns,⁸ who had sat for the borough in the previous year, was again elected in 1625 with Henry Banaster of Hackney,⁹ probably the

1. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, IV. 214.

2. E. Baines, The history of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster, (1888-1893), V. 108.

3. Picton, op. cit., I. 76.

4. Visitation of Lancashire --- [in] 1664-5. (Chetham Soc. Pub., Vol. LXXXVIII), p. 293. V.C.H., Lancashire, VII. 98.n.109.

5. D.N.B., X. 779.

6. Visitation of Warwickshire --- [in] 1619. (Harl. Soc. Pub., Vol. XII), p. 39.

7. Copinger, op. cit., I. 417.

8. Ibid.

9. O. R., I. 464.

same as Henry Banaster of London, third son of Thomas Banaster of Preston,¹ and a 'foreign' burgess of the town.² In 1626 Thomas Fanshawe, possibly a nephew of Sir Thomas Fanshawe, who represented Lancaster from 1603 until 1628,³ was probably a Duchy nominee, as was Sir Robert Carr in 1628. It is conceivable that Carr, a 'foreign' burgess of Preston in 1622,⁴ and Keeper of the Privy Purse and Gentleman of the Bedchamber in 1625,⁵ may have owed his place to the Earl of Derby, whose daughter, Anne, he had married.⁶ George Gerrard, possibly the younger brother of Sir Gilbert Gerrard of Flamberds,⁷ who was elected in 1626 and 1628, does not appear to have any connection with the borough.

At Wigan, Duchy influence was probably exercised through the medium of John Bridgeman, appointed rector of Wigan on 21 January 1616⁸ and Bishop of Chester in 1619, retaining the rectory of Wigan in commendam.⁹ In a dispute between the Bishop and the corporation over their respective jurisdictions, it had been adjudged that Wigan was a manor by right belonging to the rector¹⁰ and his influence became even more potent when on 28 August 1624

1. Visitation of Lancashire --- [in] 1664-5, (Chetham Soc.Pub., Vol. LXXXIV), p. 25.
2. Preston Guild Rolls, (Lancs. and Cheshire Rec. Soc., Vol. IX), p. 78.
3. Pink and Beavan, op. cit., p. 150.
4. Preston Guild Rolls, p. 76.
5. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 71.
6. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, I. 131.
7. Pink and Beavan, op. cit., p. 150.
8. G.T.O. Bridgeman, The history of the church and manor of Wigan, (Chetham Soc.), New Series, vol. XVI. p. 181.
9. V.G.H., Lancashire, IV. 63.
10. D. Sinclair, The History of Wigan, I. 193.

he moved there with his family.¹ The franchise lay with the freemen - the burgesses being divided into 'in' and 'out' burgesses, the latter being primarily neighbouring gentry, who often did not trouble to vote.² Thus an extant poll book for 1628 contains the names of 138 burgesses, of whom only 74 voted, the majority being townsmen.³ Both in the 1625 and 1626 elections the candidates were apparently elected without opposition. Edward Bridgeman, one of the 1625 M.Ps., was the youngest brother of the Bishop, and Francis Downes of Wardley in Lancashire was the second son of Roger,⁴ a member for the borough in 1601 and 1624.⁵ Neither was elected for Wigan in the following year. They were replaced by Sir Anthony St. John and Sir William Pooley. The former was a third son of the first Earl of Bolingbroke⁶ and a Burgess of the borough.⁷ One of the two was probably a Duchy nominee. Hugh Bullock, when complaining in the Duchy Court of the misuse of £100 that he had given the corporation, declared the matter was put off "because they have chosen one of the Chancellor's friends Burgesse of this Parliament".⁸ This was probably Pooley, who came from Boxted in Suffolk,⁹ and was connected by marriage with the Jermyns of Rushbrooke, and who a few months later was described as "a gentleman well affected to my lord" [Buckingham]¹⁰ In

1. Bridgeman, op. cit., p. 283.

2. V.C.H., Lancashire, IV. 74.

3. Sinclair, op. cit., I. 197-9.

4. Visitation of Lancashire --- [in] 1613, (Chetham Soc. Pub., Vol. LXXXII), p. 133.

5. O.R., I. 438, 458.

6. Visitation of Bedfordshire --- [in] 1634, (Harl. Soc. Pub., Vol. XIX), p. 194.

7. Sinclair, op. cit., I. 197.

8. Bridgeman, op. cit., p. 294.

9. J. and J.A. Venn, Alum. Cant., III. 380.

10. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/37/91.

1628 there were seven candidates competing for the seats. The 74.
actual contest aroused no particular interest among the neighbouring
gentry, and there is no evidence of any division along 'court'
and 'popular' lines. The two successful candidates, Sir Anthony
St. John and Edward Bridgeman received 65 and 63 votes respectively,
while Robert Gardiner had eight, and Peter Houlford, Miles Pooley,
Edward Boulton and William Prescott one apiece.¹

An analysis of members chosen for Preston and Newton
suggests that Duchy influence was paramount, although at Newton
its influence was probably exercised through the lord of the borough
who normally controlled the selection of members.² The four
members elected between 1625 and 1628 were all 'foreigners', who
either held official positions or were related to courtiers. Thus
Sir Miles Fleetwood of Ardwick in Northamptonshire and Cranford
in Middlesex,³ was the Receiver-General of the Court of Wards,⁴
while Henry Edmondes was the son of Sir Thomas Edmondes, Treasurer
of the Household.⁵ Sir Henry Holcroft of East Ham in Essex⁶ was
Secretary for Ireland,⁷ while Sir Francis Annesley was Vice-
Treasurer and Receiver-General of the Revenue in Ireland.⁸

From 1604 until 1628 Lancaster supplied a seat in
parliament for Sir Thomas Fanshawe of Jenkins in Essex, clerk

1. Sinclair, op. cit., I. 196.
2. V.C.H., Lancashire. IV. 135. In 1621 Sir Richard Fleetwood
was lord of the borough. O.R., I. 451.
3. W.R. Williams, Parliamentary History of the County of Oxford, p. 200.
4. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1603-10., p. 593.
5. Foster, Alum. Oxon., II. 445.
6. Pink and Beavan, op. cit., p. 279.
7. Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1625-32., p. 259.
8. 43rd. Rep., D.K. Pub. Rec., App. I. 6. The Official Returns
give the name as Anseloe. cf. C.J., I. 907.

of the Crown in the King's bench and Surveyor-General of Crown lands.¹ In 1625 the Chancellor of the Duchy was his colleague. In 1626, in place of Sir Humphrey May, who although elected preferred to sit for Leicester, Thomas Jermyn, eldest son of the Treasurer of the Household to Charles I, was returned. In 1628 Sir Francis Bindlose was chosen, possibly with Duchy support, though his wife was cousin to a neighbouring landlord, Nathaniel West of Borwick Hall.²

Outside the county palatine, there was a scattered and miscellaneous group of boroughs,³ where the Chancellor's influence was generally subordinated to that of a territorial magnate or local gentry. At Leicester, he was confronted by Henry Hastings, the 5th Earl of Huntingdon, Lord-Lieutenant of Leicestershire,⁴ a patron of the borough, who nominated alternately with the corporation to the office of Stewardship.⁵ In 1614 Sir Thomas Parry, then Chancellor, had formally claimed both nominations, a claim denied by the borough, although they accepted one of his nominees.⁶ The other representative was proposed by the Earl of Huntingdon.⁷ In 1624 Sir Humphrey May wrote to the 5th. Earl, requesting him to favour his candidature as one of the burgesses

1. W.R. Williams, Lancaster Official Lists, p. 53.

2. V.C.H., Lancashire, VIII. 175. n. 40.

3. Neale, op. cit., p. 226. qu. H.M.C., Kenyon MSS. p. 407. These included Leicester, Huntingdon, East Grinstead, Thetford, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Stockbridge, Sudbury, Higham Ferrers, Monmouth, Aldborough, Boroughbridge, Knaresborough and Ripon. Parliamentary representation was restored at Hertford in 1624.

4. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, VI. 658.

5. Records of the Borough of Leicester (ed. H. Stocks) IV. XXVIII.

6. Ibid., IV. 148.

7. Ibid., IV. 147.

of Leicester in the forthcoming parliament.¹ Shortly afterwards he again addressed the Earl: "I understand that I am chosen burgess for Leicester in this Parliament. I thank you for your favour, to which I am more beholding than to my own interest".² In 1625 Sir Humphrey May again offered his services to the borough.³ There were two other candidates - Sir George Hastings, second son of the fourth Earl of Huntingdon,⁴ and Arthur Hesilrige. Thomas Hesilrige addressed himself to the corporation, requesting a seat for his son, who "willing to adapt himself for the service of his country, is desirous to become a scholar in the best school of Christendome for knowledge and experience the Parliament House of England"⁵ The town elected not to offend its powerful patrons, and rejected Hesilrige. Shortly afterwards, May informed the Mayor that he had been likewise chosen for Lancaster, and solicited the seat for his kinsman, Thomas Jermyn, who was accordingly made a freeman of the borough and elected to serve in parliament the same day.⁶ The Mayor, informing Sir Humphrey, declared that they would not have done the same for anyone else.⁷ Sir George Hastings was again elected in 1626, on the recommendation of the Earl of Huntingdon,⁸ with Sir Humphrey May as his colleague. The 1628 election followed the same pattern - the Chancellor as one member and a connection of the Earl of Huntingdon as the other.⁹

1. H.M.C., R.R. Hastings MSS., II. 63.

2. Ibid.

3. James Thompson, History of Leicester, p. 350.

4. J. Nichols, The history and antiquities of the county of Leicester, III. 608.

5. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 350-1.

6. Ibid., p. 351.

7. Ibid.

8. H.M.C., RR. Hastings MSS. II. 68.

9. Sir John Stanhope of Elvaston.

At Huntingdon borough the Chancellor's influence was limited. Until the end of the sixteenth century, the borough had usually returned resident burgesses.¹ In the seventeenth century a contest arose for the patronage of the borough between the Montagus and the Cromwells.² Neither M.P. in 1625 had any connection with the borough. Sir Henry St. John was a relative of the first Earl of Bolingbroke, one of the joint Lord-Lieutenants of the county,³ and had previously sat for the Duchy borough of Stockbridge.⁴ Sir Arthur Mainwaring, possibly of Ightfield in Shropshire⁵ was a gentleman of the Privy Chamber under James I,⁶ and was almost certainly a Duchy nominee. The 1628 M.Ps. had no connection with the Duchy. James Montagu was the third son of the first Earl of Manchester.⁷ In 1627 the Montagus exercised a predominant parliamentary influence in Huntingdonshire, and they held the lease of Brampton,⁸ which lay just outside the borough, while the other member, Oliver Cromwell, possessed estates in the town which he sold in 1631.⁹

At East Grinstead in Sussex, the right of voting was confined to the burgage holders.¹⁰ In 1564 Sir Richard Sackville held ten out of the fifty-four burgages.¹¹ By the latter half of the seventeenth century, however, the number of burgage tenements

1. V.C.H., Huntingdonshire. II. 25.

2. Ibid., II. 25.

3. G.E.C., Complete Peerage. II. 204.

4. O.R., I. 430.

5. Foster, Alum. Oxon., III. 959.

6. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 71.

7. Visitation of Northamptonshire -- [in] 1681. (Harl.Soc.Pub., vol. LXXXVII), p. 142.

8. V.C.H., Huntingdonshire. II. 27.

9. R. Carruthers, History of Huntingdon, p. 191.

10. T.W. Horsfield, The history, antiquities and topography of the county of Sussex, app. p. 40.

11. P.R.O., D.L. Misc. Bk. Vol. 112. ff. 177 seqq.

had been reduced to thirty-six, of whom twenty-nine were vested in the Sackville family.¹ The second Earl of Dorset had been a benefactor of the town and had founded Sackville College in 1608.² It is not surprising, therefore, that the Sackvilles were the dominant power at parliamentary elections, Sir Henry Compton, who was elected for East Grinstead for every parliament from 1601 until 1628, with the exception of that of 1624, had married Cecilia, daughter of Robert Sackville, Earl of Dorset, and had commenced building Brambletye House within the parish of East Grinstead.³ Sir Robert Heath, the Attorney-General, who was elected in 1625 and 1626 until his election was voided in the Commons,⁴ was almost certainly placed by Dorset. Similarly, Robert Goodwin, returned at the by-election, probably had Dorset's support, though the family had long been connected with East Grinstead.⁵

Neither did the Duchy exercise any influence at Thetford in Norfolk. The patronage of the borough was shared at this time between the Earl of Arundel and the Gawdys. Arundel, who was Lord of the Manor,⁶ in 1625 recommended Sir Robert Cotton, the antiquarian.⁷ The corporation in a letter to Sir Robert claimed that the election had been so "free and so general as you had not one voyce against you".⁸ Gawdy was a powerful local magnate living in West Harling,⁹ who was elected continuously for the

1. J.C., Stenning, 'Notes on East Grinstead', Sussex Arch. Collections, XX. 155.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., XX. 136.
4. C.J., I. 817.
5. Visitation of Sussex -- [in] 1633-4, (Harl. Soc. Pub., Vol. LIII) p. 1.
6. T. Martin, History of the town of Thetford, app. p. 125.
7. D.N.B., IV. 1233.
8. Martin, op. cit., app. p. 125.
9. C.R. Manning, 'News-Letters from Sir Edmund Moundeford', Norfolk Arch., V. 55.

borough from 1614 until 1648, with the exception of the 1628 parliament, when he was High Sheriff of the County.¹ Sir John Hobart of Blickling in Norfolk, an intimate friend of Arundel,² was elected in 1626, while in 1628 Sir Henry Spiller was chosen at Arundel's request. However, when Spiller elected to sit for Middlesex, William Stanhope wrote to his brother-in-law, Framlingham Gawdy, "you may easily prevaile wth them to chuse Sir Charles Gawdy in his steed, w^{ch} my Lord of Arundell can by noe meanes take ill from them of y^r towne since theire intentions were to have gratified his lordship, in chusinge Sir Henry Spiller but now hearinge of his preelection, and beinge presently to make theire choice, they may safely chuse Sir Charles without showing any disrespect to my lord therein, his lordship haveinge commended noe other to them ---."³ It is probable that Arundel did recommend a candidate, for Sir Henry Vane, who in 1626 had helped to procure antiquities for Arundel,⁴ was chosen. His colleague in 1628 was Edmund Moundeford of Feltwell, related to Gawdy,⁵ who after his election carried on a correspondence with Gawdy appertaining to parliamentary affairs.⁶

At Newcastle-under-Lyme in Staffordshire it has been suggested that Buckingham possibly influenced some of the elections.⁷ The parliamentary franchise was exercised by all the burgesses.⁸ It is probable that both the 1624 M.Ps., Sir Edward Vere and Charles Glemham, were placed. In 1625 it is not so easy to

1. P.R.O., Lists and Indexes, IX. 39.
2. M.F.S. Hervey, Life of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, p. 25.
3. B.M., Egerton MSS. 2715. f. 420.
4. Hervey, op. cit., p. 253.
5. Norfolk Archaeology, V. 55.
6. H.M.C., 10th. Rpt., App., pt. II. 129 seqq.
7. T. Pape, Newcastle-under-Lyme in Tudor and early Stuart Times, p. 130. The author gives no evidence in support of his suggestion.
8. Taffs, op. cit., pp. 176-7.

determine. John Keeling was a crown attorney of the King's Bench,¹ but he had strong local connections. He was second son of Thomas Keeling of Newcastle-under-Lyme, and younger brother to Raphe Keeling of Newcastle.² His colleague, Edward Mainwaring of Whitmore, was a nearby gentry of some local importance, whose father had been M.P. for the borough in 1601³ and mayor in 1609.⁴ Sir John Skeffington of Fisherwick,⁵ returned in 1626, probably had no definite connection with the borough, though he may have owned a tenement there, as was the practice of many of the neighbouring gentry. Thus Sir Robert Cotton elected in 1628 owned much property within the borough and had been mayor in 1614.⁶ His colleague was Sir George Gresley of Drakelow in Derbyshire,⁷ who also possessed estates in Staffordshire, and was admitted a burgess of the borough after his election.⁸ Apart from Keeling, it is probable that none of these obtained his election through Duchy influence.

At Stockbridge in Hampshire, the Duchy had unsuccessfully tried to return its nominees in 1614.⁹ Sir Thomas Badger, a master of the Privy Harriers under James I,¹⁰ was almost certainly placed in 1625 and 1626, while Sir Henry Whitehead of Titherley and Norman Court in Hampshire¹¹ elected in 1628 was an active

1. J.C. Wedgwood, 'Staffordshire Parliamentary History', (William Salt Arch. Soc.), II. 47.
2. Pape, op. cit., p. 141. 3. O.R., I. 440.
4. Pape, op. cit., p. 51.
5. William Salt Arch. Soc., V. pt.II. 322.
6. Pape, op. cit., p. 135.
7. William Salt Arch. Soc., new ser., I. 81.
8. Pape, op. cit., p. 276.
9. C.J., I. 478.
10. P.R.O., E.403/2455. f. 73b.
11. Foster, Alum. Oxon., IV. 1619.

commissioner for the forced loan¹ and probably had Duchy support. Sir Richard Gifford of Kings Samborne in Hampshire² sat continuously from 1614 until 1628 - possibly with Duchy goodwill.

At Sudbury in Suffolk the dominant influence was that of a neighbouring landlord - Sir Robert Crane of Chilton.³ He represented Sudbury in parliament in 1614, 1625 and 1628. Both he and his colleague, Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, were deputy-lieutenants of the county⁴ and were imprisoned for refusing to pay the forced loan.⁵ Sir Robert, who sat for the county in 1626 was replaced by Thomas Smith, an alderman of Sudbury.⁶ Apparently Sir Robert had wanted to return John Winthrop in his stead: "I met the Mayor of Sudberry on Fryday at the Lyon in Grotton; he tole me that S^r Ro. Crane tooke it verry unkindly at his hand that he laburred not to chos yow a Burgess thear, and yet he says S^r Ro. neuer mad his myend so knowen to him ---".⁷ It is probable that Sir William Pooley of Boxted, who replaced Barnardiston when he sat for the county in 1628, was chosen with Duchy support, as he had previously represented Wigan, and had been described as "well-affected" to Buckingham.⁸

Hertford borough was part of the Duchy of Lancaster, and in October 1609 Prince Charles received a grant of the castle and manor.⁹ An unsuccessful attempt had been made to revive the

1. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/42/92.

2. Visitation of Hampshire -- [in] 1622-34., (Harl.Soc.Pub., Vol.LXIV), p. 16.

3. W.S. Appleton, Memorials of the Cranes of Chilton, p. 1. seqq.

4. H.M.C., 13th. Rpt., App., pt. IV. 441.

5. A.P.C., 1627-8, p. 217.

6. O.R., I. 471.

7. College of Mass. Hist. Soc., 4th. Ser., VII. 632.

8. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/37/91.

9. V.C.H., Hertfordshire. III. 502.

town's parliamentary representation in 1621.¹ On 9 February 1624 the Duchy of Lancaster Council wrote to the mayor and burgesses, recommending an M.P.² Eight days later the Prince's council addressed the borough, "that if you will p^rpare a petition for reviveing the said priviledge this parliament and send it up unto us such care shalbe taken for preferring and effecting the same at such tyme as the parliament shall sit, as shalbe fitting, without anie charge to the Towne".³ On the same day another letter was sent recommending Sir John Hobart and Christopher Vernon "at such tyme as you shalbe ennabled to make choice of fit Burgesses for this p^rsent Parliament".⁴ A further letter was sent on the 24 April to the effect that since Sir John had been elected elsewhere, and Vernon was otherwise employed they now recommended "when tyme shall serve S^r William Harrington knight his hignes steward there and neire Neighbour unto yo^w".⁵ On representation, the House of Commons agreed to restore the town's parliamentary representation. An analysis of the M.Ps. elected between 1625 and 1628 suggests that the Duchy of Lancaster had a certain influence. Thus Thomas Fanshawe of Ware Park,⁶ and a deputy-lieutenant for the county,⁷ was a Remembrancer of the Exchequer⁸. Similarly, Sir William Harrington elected in 1626 may have had Duchy goodwill, although he possessed the neighbouring Park of Hertingfordbury.⁹ None of the other M.Ps. chosen during

1. C.J., I. 624,673. A petition was preferred, but the Commons did not reach a decision.
2. H.M.C., 14th. Rpt., App., pt. VIII. 162.
3. Duchy of Cornwall, Miscellaneous MSS. 17 February 1624. f.38.
4. Ibid., 17 February 1624. f. 38b.
5. Ibid., 24 April 1624. f. 40.
6. R. Clutterbuck, The History and Antiquities of the county of Hertford --, III. 294.
7. L. Turnor, History of the Ancient Town and Borough of Hertford, p. 147.
8. D.N.B., VI. 1054.
9. Turnor, op. cit., p. 48. n.'b'.

this period appear to have any connection with the Duchy.

Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire and Monmouth were two single member constituencies. The former was dominated by the Montagu family. Sir Charles Montagu, who represented the borough in 1621, 1624 and 1625, was the fourth son of Sir Edward Montagu of Boughton Hall¹ and brother of the first Earl of Manchester. Sir George Sondes, who represented the borough in 1626 and 1628, was from Lees Court near Feversham in Kent,² and undoubtedly secured his election because his mother was the daughter of Sir Edward Montagu of Boughton.³

At Monmouth the parliamentary franchise was exercised by burgage tenants.⁴ At this period the majority of the burgages were in the hands of the Herbert family.⁵ Walter Steward of Westminster was returned for the borough in 1624, but he was unseated on petition as being a Scotchman and not naturalised.⁶ He was again elected in 1625 apparently without question. He was one of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber to James I,⁷ and possibly received Duchy support. There is no evidence of Duchy interference in the two succeeding elections. William Fortune, M.P. in 1626 was of a Monmouthshire family,⁸ and possessed two

1. J. Bridges, The History and antiquities of Northamptonshire, II. 350.

2. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, V. 364.

3. Berry, Kentish Genealogies, p. 244.

4. E.E. Havill, The Parliamentary representation of Monmouthshire and the Monmouth Boroughs, 1536-1832. (University of Wales, M.A. thesis), p. 41.

5. P.R.O., D.L. Misc. Bk. vol. 122. f. 17.

6. C.J., I. 798.

7. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 39.

8. W.R. Williams, The Parliamentary History of the Principality of Wales, 1541-1895. p. 135.

burgages in Monnow Street in the town,¹ while William Morgan, returned in 1628, was probably the third son of Sir William Morgan of Tredegar.²

The Duchy held possessions in Yorkshire in Aldborough, Boroughbridge, Knaresborough and Ripon. Its influence was negligible. 'Crown' pressure was probably exerted through the medium of the Council in the North. From 1553 to 1630 the Duchy owned the manor of Aldborough,³ and court nominees or members of the Council in the North were normally returned.⁴ The smallness of the electorate assisted 'crown' intervention. Thus at Aldborough in the 1626 election Richard Aldburgh and John Carville were returned by eleven voters,⁵ while in 1628 Henry Darley and Robert Stapleton were chosen by eight burgage tenants and the bailiff.⁶ Aldburgh, who sat in the 1625 and 1626 parliaments was the representative of a family long connected with the borough, and his father purchased the manor from the Duchy in 1629.⁷ Carville, who sat continuously from 1621 until 1626, was from Nun Monckton⁸ and was a counsellor at law.⁹ It is possible that he was placed. The two 1628 members were local gentry -- Henry Darley of Buttercramb¹⁰ and Robert Stapleton, probably of Wighill.¹¹

At Boroughbridge, where the franchise was confined to burgesses and boroughmen, and where an indenture of 1625 was

1. P.R.O., D.L. Misc. Bk. vol. 122. f. 7.

2. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

3. *Yorkshire Arch. Journal*, XXVII. 326.

4. *Ibid.* 5. *Ibid.*, XXXIV. 30.

6. *Ibid.* 7. *Ibid.*, XXXV. 201.

8. *Visitation of Yorkshire -- [in] 1612*, p. 501.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 320.

10. *Yorkshire Arch. Journal*, XXVII. 359.

11. *Ibid.*

signed by twenty burgesses and boroughmen,¹ it is probable that Philip Mainwaringe secured his seat in 1625 and 1626 with Duchy help. He was the nephew of Sir Edward Fitton, Treasurer of Ireland and President of Munster.² The other two representatives during the period of 1625 until 1628 were local gentry - Sir Ferdinando Fairfax of Denton,³ who sat continuously from 1614 until his death in 1648, and Francis Nevile of Chevet.⁴

The Duchy of Cornwall possessed land in Knaresborough and the Prince's Council unsuccessfully recommended a candidate to the borough in 1624.⁵ There is no evidence of such intervention the following year. One of the 1625 representatives was Richard Hutton, son of Sir Richard Hutton, a Justice of the Common Pleas,⁶ who sat continuously from 1621 until 1640. Pressure from the Council in the North, of which his father was a member,⁷ possibly secured his seat. His colleague in 1625 was Henry Slingsby of Scriven,⁸ near Knaresborough. The Slingsbys were the chief landowners at Knaresborough,⁹ and among other property possessed the soke-mills.¹⁰ At the beginning of the seventeenth century

1. Ibid., XXVII. 327.
2. Ibid., XXVII. 359.
3. W. Dugdale, Visitation of Yorkshire, (ed. J.W. Clay), II. 188.
4. Visitation of Yorkshire --- [in] 1612, (ed. J. Foster), p. 340.
5. Duchy of Cornwall, Miscellaneous MSS. 1 January 1624. f. 34.
6. Foss, op. cit., VI. 332.
7. R.R. Reid, The King's Council in the North, p. 497.
8. Visitation of Yorkshire --- [in] 1612, p. 113.
9. G. R. Parks, The parliamentary representation of Yorkshire, pp. 112-6.
10. Yorkshire Arch. Journal, XXXIV. 220.

they occupied a dominant position in parliamentary elections. William Slingsby wrote to his brother to "put my father in mind to make me a burgess of the Parliament for it is [a] thing I do exceedingly desire".¹ However, their influence had waned by 1625. In 1626 and 1628 Henry Slingsby was replaced as M.P. by Henry Benson, baptised at Knaresborough and eldest son of Peter Benson,² one of the electors, who owned about a dozen houses in the borough and had been under-bailiff and collector of borough rents.³ A list and distribution of votes in the 1628 election has survived. It is probably a memorandum made by the election agent of the defeated candidate, Henry Slingsby. It shows that members of parliament were elected by the freeholders of eighty-eight burgage houses in the borough.⁴ Although the number of burgages was fixed, there was often considerable doubt about voting, as several of the tenements were decayed and uninhabitable. The bailiff or under-bailiff of the borough acted as the returning officer⁵ and was generally in the interest of one of the parties. In 1628 there were three candidates - Hutton, Slingsby and Benson. It is possible that the contest between Slingsby and Benson was intensified by personal antagonism, as their respective fathers had quarrelled a few years previously.⁶ It would appear that Hutton was elected for the first seat without opposition. That Hutton and Benson's supporters were identical suggests a formal arrangement to share the representation. There were fifty-one voters, excluding women, who were not qualified.⁷ Exception was taken to eleven of Hutton's

1. The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby (ed. D.Parsons), p.253.

2. Yorkshire Arch. Journal. XXXIV. 214.

3. Ibid., XXXIV. 217.

4. Ibid., XXXIV. 215.

5. Ibid.

6. B.M., Add. MSS. 24, 475. f. 97.

7. Yorkshire Arch. Journal. XXXIV. 216.

and Benson's supporters, though unsuccessfully, and successful objections were raised against five of Slingsby's voters, and eight widows. Thus Slingsby received only fifteen votes, while thirty-one were cast for his opponents. It has been suggested that the duplication of many of the names objected to, implied a family relationship and that burgage tenements had been possibly transferred for the election.¹ An analysis of the voters indicates that the Benson family were the prime influence within the borough. Of Duchy interference, however, there is no evidence.

Similarly, at Ripon the Duchy had no power. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, the Archbishop of York, who was the Steward of Ripon, and the Lord President of the Council in the North, shared the two nominations.² Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby of Hackness, near Scarborough,³ sat continuously for the borough from 1614 until 1628. He was the second son of Sir Thomas Hoby,⁴ for many years ambassador at Paris,⁵ and a member of the Council in the North from July 1603 until his death in 1622.⁶ He possibly secured his election with the help of the Council. William Mallory of Studley and Hutton near Ripon,⁷ was also returned in successive parliaments from 1614 until 1628, with the exception of 1626. He was the son of Sir William Mallory, who had been the Archbishop of York's High Steward at Ripon,⁸ and hence enjoyed the Archbishop's goodwill. Thomas Best, who was chosen in 1626,

1. Ibid.

2. Neale, op. cit., p. 229.

3. V.C.H., North Riding. II. 529.

4. W. Harrison, Ripon Millenary. app. XIV.

5. W.W. Bean, The parliamentary representation of the Six Northern Counties of England—., p. 1037.

6. Reid, op. cit., p. 496.

7. Harrison, op. cit., app. XII.

8. Ibid., app. I.

resided at Middleton Quernhow in the parish of Wath, near Ripon.¹ He had married a daughter of Sir John Mallory of Studley,² who had been a member of the Council in the North,³ and thus probably received the support of both the Council and the Archbishop.

That Duchy influence varied considerably is natural. Within the county palatine it exercised a potent influence, and its power was effective within this hard core. Outside, its sway was restricted, and boroughs were dominated primarily by the local magistrates and gentry.

1. *Ibid.* app. XIV.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 496.

CHAPTER III.

Cornish Elections 1625-8.

With its twenty-one constituencies, Cornwall possessed more boroughs than any other county in England and Wales in 1625. Thirteen of these belonged to the Duchy of Cornwall.¹ Most of the Cornish boroughs were small in size and were open to the patronage of the local country gentry, the nobility and court officials. Six boroughs - Helston, Launceston, Liskeard, Lostwithiel, Bodmin and Truro sent members to the parliament of 1295, whilst the remainder were created or restored by the Tudors.² Thus the Tudors increased the representation of Cornwall by thirty members. The social structure of Cornwall, at this period, is marked by strong and clear lines. The county possessed only one nobleman - Lord Robartes, whose influence was confined to one or two boroughs. The country gentry of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and Dorset, however, were closely related by marriage, and West countrymen east of the Tamar often sat for Cornish constituencies.

The Duchy of Cornwall was "vested in the person of the eldest son of the reigning monarch".³ With his decease, or if

1. Bössiney, Camelford, Fowey, Grampound, Helston, Launceston, Liskeard, Lostwithiel, Newport, Saltash, East Looe, West Looe, St. Ives. J. Doddridge, A History of the Ancient and Modern State of the Duchy of Cornwall (1636), pp. 77-123: Lambeth MS. 932. f. 21. gives a list in 1624 of "severall burrough Townes within ye County of Cornwall which send two burgesses to Parliament and are the Princes". This list includes the borough of St. Ives, as does P.R.O., S.P.Dom., 16/450/15.
2. M. Coate, Cornwall in the Great Civil War, p. 17.
3. M. Coate, 'The Duchy of Cornwall: Its History and Administration 1640-1660'. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. IV. Ser. X. 135-170. The account of Duchy administration is taken from Miss Coate's works.

he became monarch, or if there were no such person, the Duchy reverted to the Crown. The central administration was exercised by the Council of the Prince, or if there was no Duke of Cornwall, by the Commissioners of the Revenue. In the reign of Charles I, there being no heir-apparent to become Duke, the Duchy was controlled by the Crown. The Commissioners of the Revenue were responsible for administering the Duchy Manors, whilst a hierarchy of Duchy officials performed other duties of administration. Much of this work appears to have been conducted in Cornwall by members of the local gentry, who were the Duchy officials. Thus the Captains of the Castles were invariably Cornish country gentlemen. It is difficult to distinguish between the electoral influence of such men as leading members of the county, and in their capacity as officials. John Hender, for example, who was Constable of Botreaux Castle, a Duchy office, held the nomination of both members at Bossiney for at least twenty years. When Salisbury wrote to the mayor of the borough in 1610 for a nomination, Hender sent him a blank indenture to fill up.¹

The Commissioners of the Revenue included, amongst others, the Lord Treasurer, the Receiver-General of the Duchy, the Secretary and keeper of the Privy and Council Seals of the Prince, the Chancellor of the Duchy, who kept the Prince's great seal, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General and Auditor-General of the Duchy.² The Duchy was normally autonomous.

1. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1603-10, p. 551.

2. Trans. Royal Hist. Soc., IV. Ser. X. 151. A list of Commissioners of the Revenue in 1625 included Lord Andover, Lord Hobart, Lord Chief Baron, Sir Thomas Savage, Sir Richard Weston, Sir James Fullerton, Mr. Baron Trevor, Sir Adam Newton, Sir Richard Smythe, Sir Francis Crane, Sir Walter Pye, Sir Thomas Fanshawe and Sir Francis Cottington. Duchy of Cornwall MSS, Commissioners of the Revenue 1625-6, ff.7,31.

There is little evidence to suggest that the central government intervened directly in Cornish elections. It is true that in 1624 Conway wrote both to the mayor of Helston and to Arthur Harris, a neighbouring landlord, to secure the nomination of one seat.¹ Harris writing to John Verney regretted his "inability to help him to a Burgess-ship. Did his best for their kinsman, Mr. Secretary, but lost the election by a single voice, thro' the absence of some friends of St. Ives".² The Prince's Council also wrote to the borough recommending Sir Thomas Crew, and with equal success.³ It is possible that the central government communicated the names of the courtiers directly by word of mouth to the Prince's Council, whose administrative centre was at Denmark House in London.

Both the Sheriff and the Lord Warden, who was frequently the Lord-Lieutenant, were Duchy officials. Among other duties, the Lord Warden appointed the Stewards of the Stannary Courts. There were five coinage towns - Helston, Bodmin, Truro, Lostwithiel and Liskeard.⁴ It is possible that the Lord Warden exercised a certain influence in these boroughs. Sir James Bagg writing to Buckingham in 1626 asserted that the Earl of Pembroke, at this period Lord Warden of the Stannaries, was using his power to return burgesses to parliament. "For first know by power of his Lordship's Wardenship of the Stannaries in Cornwall he hath means of placing divers burgesses; and that most readily by the solicitation of William Corrington [Coryton], his vice-warden, Deputy-Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum, by whose hand, as he [Coryton] hath acknowledged to me, he delivered to his Lordship the burgess-ship of Lostwithiel for Sir Robert Mansfeild [Mansell] which indenture I have seen, and find that the body of it is

1. Cal. S. P. Dom., 1623-5, p. 145.

2. Ibid., 1623-5, p. 152.

3. Duchy of Cornwall, Miscellaneous MSS. 1 January 1624. f.33b.

4. Coate, Cornwall in the Great Civil War, p.6; R. Carew, Survey of Cornwall (1769), p. 13.

written by one hand and 'Sir Robert Mansfeild [Mansell], Knight, Vice-Admiral of England, by another'. That Coryton acknowledged to him that [Mansell] was made by the Earl, who sending for [Mansell] to the Countess of Bedford's house, told him that he [the Earl] was questioned for placing him, and required him, if it were ever demanded of him, to deny that the Earl had either written for him or placed him. With all which Coryton acquainted me, with this much more, that he never told any man of it but me; and if I had acquainted your Grace therewith, by what means the Earl was questioned, he were undone --- Before the writs which summon the Parliament were out, it will be made to appear that Coryton endeavoured to get places; and a letter was directed to him from Mr. Thoroughgood in the Earl's name for his placing five members".¹ Bagg, however, was able to name specifically only four persons - Sir Francis Stuart for Liskeard, William Murray for Fowey, Sir Clipsie Crew for Callington, and Mansell for Lostwithiel. Bagg's suggestion is supported by other evidence in the case of Mansell and Stuart. Both Mansell and Pembroke were from Glamorgan, and had been associated in the Muscovy and East India companies and in obtaining a patent for manufacture of glass in 1615.² Pembroke and Stuart were also friendly,³ but no relationship has been discovered between Pembroke and the others.

The Prince's Council certainly attempted to intervene in elections on occasion. On 1 December 1620 the Prince's Council wrote to William Roscarrock, havenor of the Duchy and to Richard Billing, the Prince's feodary in the Duchy of Cornwall "to make knowne wth all speede to the Mayo^r Bayliffs or other

1. Cal. S.P. Dom., Addenda 1625-49, pp. 112-3.

2. Eng. Hist. Rev., L. 247.

3. Ibid.

cheife officers of ye Burroughs heereunder-named that ye Prince his high^s knowing it to belong unto him to take care that the King and state be served of worthy Burgesses from those Burroughes that are his doth therefore effectually recomend unto their election one pson for everie of the said Burroughes".¹ One candidate each was recommended to thirteen boroughs. Four of these nominees were chosen by the boroughs to which they were recommended - another five were elected by different constituencies.

Similarly on 1 January 1624 letters were again written to the same boroughs, with the exception of Saltash.² On this occasion six courtiers were returned. It is possible that other courtiers who were chosen for Cornish boroughs received Duchy support. Thomas Gewen, an auditor of the Duchy,³ was returned for Bossiney, and William Hockmore, another auditor,⁴ for St. Mawes. Sir Francis Cottington, the Prince's secretary,⁵ Sir Thomas Trevor, one of the Prince's Council,⁶ and Sir Miles Fleetwood, Receiver-General of the Court of Wards, were also elected for Cornish boroughs.

On 9 December 1639 letters were written to William Coryton, vice-warden of the stannaries, and to Thomas Gewen, the Prince's havenor, feodary and escheator, instructing them to assist in the election of parliamentary burgesses.⁷

1. Duchy of Cornwall, Enrolment Book 1620-1.f.39b. Letters were addressed to Lostwithiel, Camelford, Bossiney, St. Ives, East Looe, West Looe, Fowey, Helston, Launceston, Newport, Grampond, Saltash and Liskeard.
2. Duchy of Cornwall, Miscellaneous MSS. 1 January 1624.f.33b. Miss Coate wrongly states that letters were sent to fourteen boroughs, and that seven courtiers were returned. Coate, Cornwall in the Great Civil War, p. 19.
3. B.M., Add.MSS.15,630.f.75b. 4. Cal. S.P.Dom., 1619-23, p.185.
5. D.N.B., IV. 1218.
6. Duchy of Cornwall, Enrolment Book, 1620-1.f.39b.
7. Ibid., Enrolment Book 1639-42. f. 34.

Letters were written to the mayors of sixteen boroughs.¹ Only in one instance were they successful - Sir Richard Wynne, who was proposed for Lostwithiel was returned for Bodmin. The letter to Coryton suggests that the practice of recommending members of parliament by the council was a regular one: "yett findinge that the Prince his highnes and his Council have heretofore, taken care to commend unto every of the Townes and Burroughes, within his Dutchie of Carewall, one worthy person".² A list of members recommended for election is extant among the State Papers.³ It shows that individual commissioners of the revenue nominated one candidate. Furthermore, it is stated that "Letters were writt to these Burroughes in 1623", which may imply that this was the last occasion on which the council made a concerted attempt to influence elections. Letters were sent to the mayors of seven boroughs recommending candidates for election to the Long Parliament, but they met with no success.⁴

No positive evidence had been discovered that the commissioners attempted to intervene directly in elections in 1625, 1626 and 1628. Indeed, the very haste of the 1625 election makes it unlikely. However, it is possible that Duchy officials

1. *Ibid.*, Enrolment Book 1639-42. f.45. Letters were sent to Lostwithiel, East Looe, Fowey, Launceston, Camelford, Helston, Saltash, West Looe, Grampound, Bossiney, St. Germans, Michael, Newport, St. Mawes, Callington and St. Ives.
2. *Ibid.*, Enrolment Book 1639-42. f.34.
3. P.R.O., S.P.Dom., 16/450/15.
4. Duchy of Cornwall, Enrolment Book 1639-42. f. 67. Letters were sent to Bossiney, Liskeard, Grampound, Camelford, Launceston, Helston and Saltash.

wrote personally to the boroughs or else conducted business by word of mouth. Unfortunately, the majority of borough records have since perished. Thus it is only by inference from the type of member elected and a study of his connections that the probable patron's name can be deduced. By a careful analysis of the representation in each borough, it should be possible to reach certain conclusions concerning the degree of Duchy intervention.

There were thirteen boroughs belonging to the Duchy, which had the right of parliamentary representation. Sir Beville Granville wrote that at Bossiney "all w^{ch} pay scott and lott and which are suitors to the towne court have voice in all elections".¹ The strongest single electoral influence was that of Lord Robartes, who held Botreaux Castle from the Duchy.² Granville wrote to Sir Ralph Sydenham in 1640: "Mr. Coryton's power is great there. He continues himself mayor divers years and supports the former custom of chusing by a few because they are mostly at his command. I gave him to understand that I was willing to joyne wth him if he pleased whereby my lo: Chamb: should be sure of one if he would lett me have the other but he was absolute and would have all or none, whereby I believe he will loose all --- [Lord] Rob: is powerfull there and --- [would] have cary'd both against Mr. Cor: if I had not interposed-- so there are two elections made one by Mr. Cor's men and another by all the freemen who are we hear three to one against him and they have chosen you and another cal'd Sr. Jo: Clot: [Clotworthy] on my lo: Rob: recommendation --- if I had not interpos'd my lo: agents would have carry'd both by that way of election".³ The 1625 M.Ps. were Sir Francis Cottington, one of the commissioners of the revenue, who at this time was out of favour with Buckingham,⁵

1. R. Granville, History of the Granville Family, p. 233.

2. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 14/157/65.

3. Granville, op. cit., p. 235.

4. Duchy of Cornwall, Commissioners of the Revenue 1625-6. f.31.

5. D.N.B., IV. 1218.

and Jonathan Prideaux of Thewborough in Devon,¹ who was related by marriage to the Edgcumbe family,² and who also held land in Cornwall.³ The 1626 M.Ps. had no connection with the Duchy. Charles, Lord Lambert of Cavan in Ireland, had married the second daughter of Lord Robartes,⁴ while Paul Specott of Penheale held much land in Cornwall.⁵ Lambert was again returned in 1628. On this occasion he had as colleague Sir Richard Edgcumbe, who was one of the Cornish gentry who supported the court in the 1628 election. It is probable that he received Duchy assistance.

Camelford first returned M.Ps. in 1547 when the family of Roscarrock was dominant in borough affairs. When Roscarrock power declined, the main influence over the inhabitants was exercised by the Manatons.⁶ Sir Henry Hungate, returned in 1625, was from East Bradenham in Norfolk and was friendly with Buckingham.⁷ His colleague, Thomas Cotteel, was descended from Antwerp merchants.⁸ He probably secured his election because of his sister's marriage to Sir Richard Edgcumbe.⁹ Edward Lyndsey, who was returned in 1626, was from Buxted in Sussex.¹⁰ He had been Steward to the Lord Treasurer¹¹ and was one of the feoffees for payment of the

1. J. Maclean, The Parochial and family history of the deanery of Trigg Minor, II. 224.
2. Visitations of the County of Devon, (ed. J.L. Vivian), p. 620.
3. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 14/157/65.
4. Visitation of Cornwall --- [in] 1620, p. 187.
5. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 14/157/65.
6. W.P. Courtney, The Parliamentary Representation of Cornwall to 1832, p. 339.
7. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8, p. 340.
8. Courtney, op. cit., p. 343.
9. Visitation of Cornwall --- [in] 1620, p. 64.
10. Visitation of Sussex --- [in] 1634, p. 201.
11. Sussex Arch. Collections, XXXIV. 174.

debts of Richard, Earl of Dorset.¹ Dorset, who was friendly with Buckingham, possibly secured his return. Sir Thomas Monk, of Powdridge in Devon,² was also elected in 1626, but he "was in execution before and at the time of his election", and was ejected from his seat.³ The 1628 representatives were Francis Crossing of Exeter,⁴ and Evan Edwards of Mold in Flint.⁵ In 1627 a lease was made by the Lord Chief Baron, Sir James Fullerton and Baron Trevor of their interest in certain towns in Caernarvon to Thomas Alured and Edwards.⁶ Thus, it is possible that Fullerton, who was one of the Commissioners of the Revenue, may have used his influence to secure Edwards's return.

The Rashleigh family owned much of Fowey in the latter half of the sixteenth century. In Elizabeth's reign the Rashleighs held twelve burghers' votes, the Treffry family four and Sir Reginald Mohun one.⁷ In 1650 the Treffrys held three free-tenants houses and the Rashleighs fifteen,⁸ while John Rashleigh erected eight almshouses prior to 1626.⁹ It is not surprising that Rashleigh influence was dominant in the town. Jonathan Rashleigh was returned in 1625. His colleague was Arthur Bassett of Umberleigh in Devon, who was related by marriage to Rashleigh. Bassett had been in prison for over two years, but was released on his return for Fowey.¹⁰ He was again

1. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1628-9, p. 586.

2. Courtney, op. cit., p. 343.

3. C.J., I. 840.

4. Visitations of Devon, p. 255.

5. Register of Admission to Grays Inn, 1521-1889, p. 131.

6. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8, p. 180.

7. E.W. Rashleigh, A short History of the Town and Borough of Fowey, pp. 28-9.

8. Ibid., p. 29.

9. Ibid., p. 11.

10. C.J., I. 806-7.

elected in 1626. He was partnered on this occasion by William Murray, tutor and secretary to Charles when Prince of Wales, and who became a gentleman of the bedchamber in 1626.¹ His indenture of return is signed, among others, by both Jonathan and John Rashleigh,² so it is reasonable to assume that he enjoyed their support. He may have been recommended by the Commissioners of the Revenue, or as Bagg suggests by Pembroke. Robert Rashleigh was returned in 1628 with Sir Richard Grenville. The Grenvilles possessed local influence - Bevil Grenville had lived near Fowey,³ and Sir Richard could be certain of Duchy support. As a result of Buckingham's favour he had been knighted in 1627, and the following year obtained the command of one of the regiments destined for the relief of Rochelle.⁴

Grampound was a small borough situated eight miles east of Truro.⁵ John Mohun, who sat for the borough in 1624 and 1625, was one of the most prominent of Buckingham's supporters among the local gentry, and through his favour was recommended in 1620 for the office of vice-warden of the Stannaries.⁶ In 1628 he was put forward as a 'court' candidate in the county Cornwall election. His colleague was another local landowner - Sir Samuel Rolle, who was inclined towards Puritanism.⁷ Three indentures were returned in 1626.⁸ Edward Thomas was chosen for the first seat. It has not been possible to identify this

1. D.N.B., XIII. 1304-5.

2. P.R.O., C 219/40.

3. Glanville, op. cit., pp. 196-7.

4. D.N.B., VIII. 567 seqq.

5. C.S. Gilbert, Historical Survey of the county of Cornwall, II. 860.

6. D.N.B., XIII. 555-6.

7. Courtney, op. cit., p. 187.

8. C.J., I. 817, 821.

member, although his election in 1625 and 1628 for West Looe suggests that he was connected with Duchy administration. For the second seat, Sir Benjamin Rudyard - a friend of the Earl of Pembroke¹ - chose to sit for Old Sarum, and the election of St. Aubyn, who held the manors of Liskeard Colshill and St. Ewe,² was voided. In his place, Francis Courtenay was elected. It is probable that both the 1628 representatives received Duchy support. Sir Robert Pye had by Buckingham's favour been made remembrancer of the exchequer in July 1618,³ while Henry, Lord Carey, was the second son of the first Earl of Monmouth, who had been chamberlain to Prince Charles⁴ and was a member of the Prince's Council.⁵

Helston was formally incorporated in 1584, and its government vested in a mayor, four aldermen, recorder, town clerk and twenty-four freemen.⁶ For most of the seventeenth century the parliamentary representatives were members, relations or nominees of the Godolphin family.⁷ In 1614 Sir James Whitlocke was returned through the influence of Sir Robert Killigrew: "My worthy frend Sir Robert Kylligrew gave me a place for Helston, in the countye of Cornwall, and I cawsed my brother-in-law Henry Bowstred to be returned for that place".⁸ In 1625 Thomas Carey, second son of the first Earl of Monmouth,⁹ and a groom of the bedchamber,¹⁰ was elected almost certainly with Duchy

1. Eng. Hist. Rev., L. 242.

2. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 14/157/65.

3. D.N.B., XVI. 514.

4. Ibid., III. 984 seqq.

5. Duchy of Cornwall, Miscellaneous MSS. I January 1624, f. 33.

6. H. Spencer Toy, The Ancient Borough of Helston, p. 12.

7. Courtney, op. cit., p. 43.

8. Sir James Whitlocke, Liber Famelicus (Camden Soc. Pub., vol. LXX), p. 41.

9. Herald and Genealogist, IV. 45.

10. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 71.

support. His colleague was Francis Carew of London, whose father, Sir George, had married a daughter of Sir Francis Godolphin.¹ Carew was again returned in 1626, while Carey was displaced by Francis Godolphin. In the third parliament of Charles I's reign, Sidney Godolphin, the second son of Sir William Godolphin of Godolphin,² was chosen together with William Noy of Carnanton, Mawgan-in-Pyder in Cornwall.³ Noy had been successfully recommended by the Prince's Council to Fowey in 1624.⁴ In 1627 he had been counsel for Sir Walter Earle, one of the five knights imprisoned for refusing to contribute to the forced loan.⁵

At Launceston the franchise was exercised by the corporation, consisting of a mayor, eight aldermen and a recorder and a limited number of freemen.⁶ It is probable that Duchy influence in this borough decreased with the sale of the manor of Launceston-land soon after Charles ascended the throne.⁷ Bevill Grenville and Richard Escott were returned to parliament in the first three elections of Charles I's reign. Grenville, who was the son of Sir Bernard Grenville of Kellygarth in Cornwall, was a friend of Sir John Eliot, and assisted in securing his return in the county Cornwall election of 1628.⁸ Escott, who owned a dwelling house and land in the borough,⁹ was

1. Visitation of Cornwall ---in 1620, p. 28.

2. D.N.B., VIII. 42.

3. Ibid., XIV. 698 seqq.

4. Duchy of Cornwall, Miscellaneous MSS. 1 January 1624.f.33b.

5. D.N.B., XIV. 698 seqq. 6. Courtney, op. cit., p.360.

7. A.F. Robbins, Launceston, past and present, p. 141.

8. D.N.B., VIII. 553.

9. R. and O.B. Peter, The histories of Launceston and Dunheved, p. 285.

a son of one of the aldermen,¹ and himself became deputy recorder of Launceston in 1629.²

In the reign of Elizabeth few courtiers were returned for Liskeard. However, Sir Edward Coke was elected in 1621 by the "King's commandment".³ Many of the local gentry held land in the borough.⁴ Of the five M.Ps. returned between 1625 and 1628, only one - Sir Francis Stuart - had no connection with Liskeard. The 1625 representatives were William Coryton and Nicholas Hele. Coryton, who had been appointed vice-warden of the stannaries in 1603, was a frequent visitor to the borough at this period.⁵ He was the cousin of the recorder - Sir William Wray.⁶ Nicholas Hele of Bray in Morval⁷ was the brother of Sir Warwick Hele, who had obtained a lease of Lodge Park and the neighbouring woods around Liskeard in 1619.⁸ Joseph Jane, returned in 1626, was the son of Thomas Jane who had previously been mayor in 1621.⁹ Joseph Jane became chief steward in 1628 and mayor in 1631.¹⁰ His parliamentary colleague was Sir Francis Stuart who was for a while vice-admiral on the Western coast.¹¹ Stuart was again elected in 1628. With him was chosen John Harris of Lanrest - a neighbouring estate - who possessed a holding in the castle and other duchy lands in the borough.¹²

1. Courtney, op. cit., p. 364.

2. Peter, op. cit., p. 408.

3. D.N.B., IV. 692.

4. J. Allen, History of the Borough of Liskeard and its vicinity, p. 293.

5. Ibid.

6. Courtney, op. cit., p. 252.

7. Allen, op. cit., p. 485.

8. A Complete Parochial History of the County of Cornwall. III. 146.

9. Ibid., III. 153.

10. Allen, op. cit., pp. 239-40.

11. Courtney, op. cit., p. 252.

12. Allen, op. cit., p. 470.

At West Looe the parliamentary franchise was exercised by the mayor, twelve aldermen and freemen - totalling no more than thirty, the great majority of whom were non-resident.¹ Many local gentry held lands in the borough. A court book for the year 1620 gives a list of free tenants, who included Sir Bernard Grenville, Sir Richard Buller, John Trelawney and Thomas Arundel.² None of the M.Ps. elected between 1625 and 1628 had any connection with the borough. Edward Thomas was returned in 1625 and 1628. His name is inserted in a different hand from that of the body of the indenture.³ John Wolstenholme, elected in 1625, was the son of the principal farmer of customs.⁴ He was again returned in 1626, but on this occasion had John Rudhall as his colleague. Rudhall, who had represented Herefordshire in the previous parliament, had married a daughter of Sir William Pitt, one of the Commissioners employed in matters concerning the royal household and Navy.⁵ Rudhall was in correspondence with Sir John Coke at this period⁶ and probably was placed by Duchy officials. John Packer, elected in 1628, was a clerk of the privy seal and Buckingham's secretary.⁷ He may have obtained the lord warden's support for his election, as Pembroke had once been his patron.⁸ Packer also had a link with one of the local gentry, for on 23 March 1614 he and Francis Godolphin had obtained a grant of the office of prothonotary of the chancery for life.⁹

1. Courtney, op. cit., p. 112.

2. A.L. Browne, Corporation Chronicles of East Looe and West Looe, p. 107.

3. P.R.O., C 219/39.

4. Courtney, op. cit., p. 131.

5. Shaw, op. cit., II. 171.

6. H.M.C., 12th. Rpt., App., pt.1.252.

7. D.N.B., XV. 31-2.

8. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1603-10., p. 199.

9. Ibid., 1611-18., p. 228.

At East Looe the franchise was vested in the mayor and burgesses.¹ Only two out of its eight M.Ps. from 1604-1624 had any territorial connection with Cornwall.² The dominant electoral influence was that of the Recorder - Sir Reginald Mohun.³ He was responsible for the election of his brother-in-law George Chudleigh in 1614, and his nephew John Chudleigh in 1626. Both 1625 representatives were courtiers. James Bagg was knighted before the close of 1625 and also made vice-admiral of Cornwall.⁴ Later he was joined with Sir John Drake in the vice-admiraltyship of Devon⁵ and made a deputy-lieutenant of the same county.⁶ His parliamentary colleague, Sir John Trevor, Comptroller of James I's household, had married a daughter of Hugh Trevanion of Caerhayes in Cornwall.⁷ In 1628 Paul Speccott of Penheale was returned together with William Murray, who had become a gentleman of the bedchamber in 1626.⁸

Carew described the condition of Lostwithiel at the beginning of the seventeenth century. "Maioralty, markets, faires, and nomination of Burgesses for the Parliament, it hath common with most: Coynage of Tynne, onely with three others; but the gayle for the whole Stannery and keeping of the County Courts, it selfe alone. Yet all this can hardly rayse it to a tolerable condition of wealth and inheritance".⁹ Sir Reginald Mohun, Recorder of the borough,¹⁰ exercised a strong influence,

1. Courtney, op. cit., p. 112.

2. Ibid., p. 114.

3. T. Bond, Topographical and Historical Sketches --- of East and West Looe, p. 236.

4. Forster, op. cit., I. 202.

5. Ibid., II. 28.

6. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1629-31, p. 19.

7. Courtney, op. cit., p. 115; Visitation of Cornwall --- in 1620, p. 240.

8. D.N.B., XIII. 1304-5.

9. R. Carew, op. cit., p. 137.

10. F.M.H., op. cit., p. 35.

and controlled the nomination of one seat. He was himself returned in a disputed election in 1625. His son was chosen in 1626, and a relative - Sir John Chudleigh - in 1628. The remaining M.Ps. chosen in the first three parliaments of Charles I's reign were foreigners. Sir Robert Mansell came from Margam in Glamorgan. In 1618 he was appointed Vice-Admiral of England, and accordingly sold his office of Treasurer of the Navy.¹ It is probable, as Bagg suggests, that he was placed by Pembroke. Sir Robert Carr returned in 1628 had no link with Cornwall. He was a gentleman of the bedchamber, and had accompanied Prince Charles to Spain in 1623.² He was also elected for Preston, and chose to sit for that borough. In his place another nominee was returned - Sir Thomas Badger, Master of the Privy Harriers.³

At Newport two officials, known as vianders, appointed annually at the Lord's Manor-court were responsible for the election of M.Ps. If they disagreed in their choice of members, the franchise was exercised by the inhabitants.⁴ Sir John Eliot chosen for Newport in 1624 was again returned in 1625. The election of Eliot is understandable; he had in 1611 married Rhadagund, the only daughter of Richard Gedie of Trebursey,⁵ whose seat adjoined the borough. His colleague was Paul Speccott of Penheale. Thomas Gewen, an auditor of the duchy, who was chosen in 1626 was also one of the vianders of the borough in the same year.⁶ In the next parliament both representatives were Cornish gentry.

1. D.N.B., XII. 973-4.

2. H.M.C., 3rd. Rpt., App., p. 284.

3. P.R.O., E 403/2455.f.73b.

4. B.M., Harleian MSS. 6799. f.335b. qu. in Forster, op. cit., II.107.

5. Forster, op. cit., I. 14.

6. P.R.O., C 219/40.

Saltash was one of the parliamentary boroughs created by Edward VI.¹ A few miles from the borough stood Shillingham - the home of the Buller family, who at this period dominated Saltash. Sir Richard Buller - recorder of the borough,² and his son Francis were returned in 1625. Sir John Hippisley, writing to Nicholas on 16 June 1627, asking him to recollect Sir Richard for employment in Cornwall, described him as a servant to my Lord [Buckingham] "when time was".³ Shortly afterwards, however, it was proposed to remove Buller from the commission of the peace because of his opposition to the forced loan.⁴ Buller, however, was induced to pay his contribution.⁵ Sir Richard was again elected in 1626 and 1628. He had married a daughter of Sir Rowland Hayward, a citizen and alderman of London.⁶ Hence, it is natural that in 1626 he had as his parliamentary colleague Sir John Hayward of Hollingborne Hill in Kent, the second son of Sir Rowland.⁷ Sir Richard's influence did not prevent the return of Sir Francis Cottington in the third parliament of Charles I's reign.⁸

St. Ives first returned M.Ps. in 1558 - probably through the patronage of the Marquis of Winchester.⁹ The Saint Ives district was divided into several manors - the principal one was that of Ludgvan Lese, the occupant of this manor being known

1. Courtney, op. cit., p. 144.

2. Cal.S.P. Dom., 1628-9, p. 65.

3. Ibid., 1627-8., p. 219.

4. Ibid., 1627-8., p. 231.

5. Ibid., 1627-8., p. 279.

6. C.S. Gilbert, op. cit., II. 39.

7. Hasted, op. cit., VI. 220. By his will in 1635, Sir John Hayward settled the manor of Minster upon his two feoffees, Richard Buller of Cornwall and Henry Clerk of Rochester.

8. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1628-9., p. 65.

9. Courtney, op. cit., p. 61.

as the Lord of St. Ives.¹ After the death of the second Lord Broke, who held the manor, it passed to his two daughters, who married respectively the Marquis of Winchester and Lord Mountjoy. These joint lords of the borough and their descendants nominated either one or both members from 1584 onwards for many years.² Thus in 1640 the borough records reveal the payment of money "to William Leonard for carreinge my Lord Marquis his letter concerning the Burgesses".³ The 1625 representatives were Sir William Parkhurst of London, and Sir Francis Godolphin of Godolphin, Receiver-General of Cornwall.⁴ Both Parkhurst and Buckingham's brother, Sir Edward Villiers, were Wardens of the Mint,⁵ and it is possible that the Duchy secured Parkhurst's return. The Godolphin family possessed the neighbouring manor of Lelant and Trevetho and thus had strong local influence.⁶ William Noy was elected in 1626. He had obtained Duchy support in previous elections, but on this occasion he probably relied on the recommendation of the Marquis of Winchester, for in December 1622 an application was granted for a marriage license "for the Right Honourable John, Lord St. John (created Marquis of Winchester in 1628), bachelor, aged 24, and Jane Savage, about 26, daughter of Sir Thomas Savage", and the consent of the parents was "alleged by William Noye, esq.". ⁷ His colleague was Benjamin Titchbourne of Hampshire, who must have been acquainted with the Marquis, whose chief residence was in that county.⁸ Titchbourne, however, chose to sit for

^{1.} J.H. Matthews, A history of the parishes of St. Ives --- in the county of Cornwall, p. 41.

^{2.} Neale, op. cit., p. 202; P.R.O., C219/28, Ibid. C219/31, Ibid., C219/33

^{3.} Matthews, op. cit., p. 210.

^{4.} Duchy of Cornwall, Enrolment Book, 1611-15., f. 60.

^{5.} P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 61.

^{6.} Matthews, op. cit., p. 46.

^{7.} Courtney, op. cit., p. 64.

^{8.} Ibid.

petersfield. In his place Edward Savage, one of Buckingham's gentleman ushers¹ and a relative of the Marchioness of Winchester, was chosen.² In 1628 Francis Godolphin and John Payne were elected. Payne, who was described in the official return as of pallenswick in Middlesex,³ was probably identical with the John Payne who was a capital burgess of St. Ives in 1625 and 1629 and a portreeve of the borough in 1631.⁴

It is difficult to estimate with precision the extent of Duchy influence in these boroughs. Thus it is impossible to state whether William Noy was placed in Helston in 1628 by the Duchy, or whether his local influence secured his return. A similar problem is encountered in the election of Thomas Gewen at Newport in 1626. Furthermore, it is not possible to decide satisfactorily whether a 'foreigner' like William Murray was elected because of Duchy pressure or because of pressure from the Lord Warden. The return of Sir John Trevor at East Looe may have been the result of Duchy nomination or of his relationship to a leading Gornish family, or of a combination of both circumstances. In 1628 there is evidence to suggest that local gentry, sympathetic to the court, were responsible for the return of several courtiers. Nevertheless, an analysis of the electoral returns in these Duchy boroughs suggests certain conclusions. The majority of them were under the domination of local gentry. Among this category we can include Bossiney, Fowey, Helston, Launceston, Liskeard, Newport, Saltash, East Looe and St. Ives. Courtiers returned for these boroughs normally possessed the

1. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1628-9, p. 248.

2. Courtney, op. cit., p. 65.

3. O.R., I. 474.

4. Matthews, op. cit., p. 441.

acquiescence or active support of the local gentry. A compilation of members returned suggests that approximately one in three were courtiers - a ratio that is roughly applicable to the three parliaments.¹

There were eight Cornish boroughs which did not belong to the Duchy of Cornwall. Bodmin consisted of six manors, two of which formerly constituted the Priory.² Before the reformation, the prior was lord of the town. Afterwards the burgesses became tenants of the royal demesne.³ The parliamentary franchise was exercised by a mayor and thirty-six burgesses.⁴ Both representatives in 1625 were 'courtiers.' Robert Caesar was the fourth surviving son of Sir Julius and a nephew of the vicar of Lostwithiel, Henry Caesar.⁵ His father had married a daughter of Sir William Killigrew.⁶ His colleague Henry Jermyn had been a gentleman in attendance on the embassy to Paris in 1624.⁷ His father, Sir Thomas Jermyn of Rushbrooke, had married a daughter of Sir William Killigrew.⁸ Hence, Killigrew influence was probably responsible for their election. Jermyn was again returned in 1626; on this occasion he had as colleague Sir Richard Weston, Chancellor of the Exchequer and one of the Commissioners of the Revenue. Two Cornishmen were elected to

1. There was a small decrease in 1628 in the number of courtiers returned,
2. C.S. Gilbert, op. cit., II. 625.
3. J. Maclean, Parochial and Family History of the Parish and Borough of Bodmin. p. 111. In 1620, however, the manor was in possession of Richard Danyell. Ibid., p. 146.⁷
4. Courtney, op. cit., p. 226.
5. Ibid., p. 231.
6. D.N.B., III. 659.
7. Ibid., X. 779.
8. Courtney, op. cit., p. 18.

the following parliament. Humphrey Nicholls was a landlord in the neighbouring parish of St. Tudy.¹ He was one of the three J.P.s. and Commissioners for the loan who was removed from the Commission of the Peace because of his opposition to the forced loan.² On the other hand, Sir Robert Killigrew, who held the Stewardship of Launceston³ was sympathetic to the court. He possessed the support of Sir James Bagg, who had married a daughter of John Stone, who had held mayoral office in the borough on several occasions.⁴

When Callington first became a parliamentary borough, the Pouletts, Marquises of Winchester, controlled the elections.⁵ It was shortly afterwards conveyed by marriage to Sir Robert Dennis, whose granddaughter brought it by marriage to the Devonshire family of Rolle.⁶ The franchise is doubtful. In 1603 it was exercised by the mayor and burgesses.⁷ The 1625 representatives were Sir Richard Weston and Thomas Wyse of Sydenham in Devon.⁸ Wyse undoubtedly secured his election because his sister Margaret had married Sir Samuel Rolle.⁹ Weston had been collector of the 'little customs' in London, and on 12 February 1618 had been appointed joint Commissioner, Comptroller and Surveyor of the Navy.¹⁰ In this capacity he

1. Ibid., p. 232.

2. Cal.S.P. Dom., 1627-8., p. 255.

3. Duchy of Cornwall, Enrolment Book 1611-15, f.27.

4. J. Maclean, The parochial and family history of the deanery of Trigg Minor, I. 312; Visitations of the county of Devon, p.34.

5. Courtney, op. cit., p. 266.

6. Ibid., p. 268.

7. Taffs, op. cit., p. 51.

8. Visitations of Devon, p. 791.

9. Ibid.

10. D.N.B., XX. 1275.

probably came into contact with John Rolle, who possibly assisted in his return. John Rolle, the fourth son of Robert Rolle, of Heanton in Devon,¹ who held the manor at the period, was elected in 1626. A merchant of London, he was one of the individuals who refused to pay tunnage and poundage, and as a consequence had his goods seized.³ His colleague was Sir Clipsie Crew, son of Sir Randolph Crew, who had made a fortune from his legal practice.⁴ It does not appear that he had any connection with the borough. John Rolle was again elected in 1628. His colleague was Sir William Constable, a son of Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough and Holme in Yorkshire.⁵ He had refused to pay the forced loan in 1627. It is most unlikely that his return was secured through Duchy influence, but it has not been possible to trace any relationship between Constable and Cornwall or the Rolle family. Constable was also returned for Scarborough,⁶ and chose to sit for that borough. A new writ was issued for Callington, but the name of the M.P. elected is not known.

The manor of Michael had long been the property of the Arundels of Lanherne, and through their influence was made a parliamentary borough.⁷ The portreeve, who was the returning officer, was chosen by the lord of the manor.⁸ Sir John Smith,

1. Ibid., XVII. 163.

2. P. R.O., S.P. Dom., 14/157/65.

3. D.N.B., XVII. 163.

4. Courtney, op. cit., p. 271.

5. D.N.B., IV. 971.

6. O.R., I. 479.

7. Courtney, op. cit., p. 297.

8. C.J. Henderson, Essays in Cornish History, p. 48.

elected in 1625 and 1626, came from Kent and had married a daughter of Lord Robartes.¹ His colleague in 1625 was Henry Sandys, a son of Sir Edwin - a favourite with Buckingham. In 1626 Francis Crossing of Exeter² was chosen. Three indentures were returned in 1628 for John Sparke, John Coswarth and Francis Buller. Sparke was a Plymouth merchant who had married Deborah, a daughter of John Rashleigh of Fowey.³ In 1615 he had been granted by the Prince's council the profits of the manor of Sutton for twenty-one years.⁴ Coswarth was the third son of Edward Coswarth of Coswarth in Cornwall by Dorothy, daughter of John Arundel,⁵ whose influence was probably exercised in his favour. Edward Coswarth was apparently one of the burgesses of the borough at this period.⁶ Francis Buller was a son of Sir Richard Buller of Shillingham. Mr. Hakewill reported the case from the committee of privileges. He declared that Sparke was clearly elected. The election of Coswarth was made on 28 February and that of Buller on the following day. There was reason to believe that Coswarth's election was the better.⁷ Unfortunately, the reasons which prompted this decision are not given. The Commons resolved that Coswarth's election was good, and that the indenture for the election of Buller should be taken off the file.

The Bishops of Exeter had been responsible for the

1. Courtney, op. cit., p. 303.
2. Visitations of Devon, p. 255.
3. Ibid., p. 856.
4. B.M., Add. MSS. 15,630. f. 68.
5. Visitation of Cornwall, p. 50.
6. P.R.O., C 219/41B.
7. Sir Richard Grosvenor Diary. E 5/35/50. The printed Commons' Journal gives no information about this election. I am indebted to Mr. B. Trainor for this reference.

rise of Penryn. The manors of Penryn Foreign and Penryn Borough were included among the possessions of that see. The privilege of holding a weekly market and an annual fair had been obtained by one Bishop,¹ and the borough was incorporated in 1619 at the request of William Cotton, Bishop of Exeter.² The Bishops also exercised a certain electoral influence. Thus Joseph Hall, probably a son of the Bishop, was returned for Penryn in the Short Parliament.³ A more important influence was that of the Killigrews of Arwennack, who lived in the neighbouring parish of Budock.⁴ Sir Robert Killigrew was responsible for the return of Sir Edwin Sandys, the second son of Archbishop Edwin Sandys, in 1625. Thomas Scott reported: "Syr Edwin Sandys had never seene Penryn nor knew the name of it, he tould mee, nor was a ffreeman there, nor chosen there, but by S^r Robert Killigrew, at London, who, for that purpose or to put in some other, yf S^r Edwin had sped elsewhere, brought up a Blancke in his Pocket."⁵ His colleague was Edward Roberts of Willesden in Middlesex,⁶ who had represented the borough in parliament the previous year. Roberts had been in the past a servant of the Earl of Salisbury,⁷ and had received a grant of the office of Captain of the Block House at West Tilbury.⁸ Both members were re-elected the following year. In the third parliament, Sir William Killigrew was joined with Sir Thomas Edmondes, fifth

1. Courtney, op. cit., p. 15.

2. C.S. Gilbert, op. cit., II. 785.

3. Courtney, op. cit., p. 18.

4. Ibid., p. 16.

5. Thomas Scott MS. f. 19.

6. O.R., I. 468.

7. Courtney, op. cit., p. 18.

8. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1603-10., p. 268.

son of Thomas Edmondes of Fowey, and Treasurer of the Royal Household.¹

St. Germans was created a parliamentary borough in 1563.² Shortly after the suppression of religious establishments, the manor of St. Germans was acquired by the Champernownes. In 1553 the priory passed to John Eliot, who made it his residence.³ John Moyle described the franchise: "for all y^e Inhabitants of St. Germans have tyme out of mynde y^t dwelt in y^e Kgs Borough had voyces as well y^e poore as y^e rich and y^t only scot and lot men should have voyces (and nonne but they) y^e never hard of --- Y^e prior was lord of y^e borough of St. Germans, and Mr. Elyot is now as the prior lord of both; and those y^t have dwelt in the priory have still in all elections ever given voyces without contradiction in y^e chusing of Burgesses for y^e borough of St. Germans ---".⁴ Sir John Coke, one of the masters of requests, and shortly to become secretary of state, was returned in 1625 "much to the dislike of Sir John Eliot".⁵ His colleague was Sir Henry Marten, a judge of the Admiralty Court.⁶ In his official capacity he had tried a case between Eliot and a pirate Nutt in July 1623, and on 4 August had advocated Eliot's release on bail.⁷ Subsequently, the two men became friends. Marten was again elected in 1626 with Sir John Eliot as his colleague. In 1628 Eliot's local influence probably secured the return of Thomas Cotton, a son of Sir Robert, and Benjamin Valentine, an intimate friend.⁸

1. D.N.B., VI. 391. seqq.

2. Courtney, op. cit., p. 281.

3. C.S. Gilbert, op. cit., II. 404.

4. The Buller Papers, p. 30.

5. Forster, op. cit., I. 223.

6. D.N.B., XII. 1146-7.

7. Ibid.

8. Forster, op. cit., II. 103.

At St. Mawes the right of representation was vested in the mayor and free tenants of the borough.¹ The majority of M.Ps. in the period 1625-8 were connected with the Duchy. Sir James Fullerton, chosen in 1625, had been a governor of Prince Charles,² and was one of the Commissioners of the revenue.³ His colleague, Nathaniel Tomkins, had been appointed clerk of the Prince's council in February 1622.⁴ He was also returned for Christchurch in Hampshire and chose to sit for that borough. It is not known who was elected in his place. In 1626 Sir Henry Carey, eldest son of the first Earl of Monmouth, who was a member of the Prince's council, was joined with William Carr, a groom of the bedchamber under James I.⁵ The 1628 representatives were Hannibal Vyvyan of Trelowarren and Thomas Carey. Vyvyan was constable of St. Mawes Castle,⁶ a keeper of the gaol at Lostwithiel and Comptroller of the coinage of tin in Devon and Cornwall,⁷ while Thomas Carey, who had sat for Helston in 1625 and Tregony in 1626, was the second son of the first Earl of Monmouth.

In 1620 the manor of Tregony was the property of John Luxon, but it was shortly afterwards purchased by Hugh Boscawen.⁸ The lords of the manor had previously been able to return many of their nominees.⁹ The parliamentary franchise was exercised by all the inhabitants who were pot-boilers and

1. Courtney, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

3. Duchy of Cornwall, Commissioners of the Revenue 1625-6, f.7.

4. *Ibid.*, Enrolment Book 1615-25, f. 299.

5. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 40.

6. *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1619-23., p. 161.

7. *Ibid.*, 1625-6., p. 546.

8. C.S. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, II. 856.

9. Courtney, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

had been resident within the borough for six weeks prior to the election.¹ Sir Henry Carey and Sebastian Goode were returned in 1625. Goode - a 'foreigner' - had held the manors of Malden and Chessington Park in Surrey.² In the following year Sir Robert Killigrew and Thomas Carey were chosen, while John Arundel of Trerise and Francis Rous were the borough representatives in 1628. The Arundels possessed the neighbouring manor of Govilly;³ the election of John Arundel is therefore perfectly understandable.

Of the five parliaments of Charles I's reign, only one of the ten representatives elected for Truro was not either a Rolle or a Rous.⁴ Carew describes Truro as "priviledged with a Mayraltie, and benefited with the generall Westernne Sessions, Coyrages, Markets, Faires, etc."⁵ Part of the manor of Truro was held by the Robartes family in 1620.⁶ Sir Richard Robartes, created Lord Robartes in 1623, had made a fortune from trade and manufactures in Truro, and was the dominant influence in elections. Henry Rolle and William Rous were the 1625 representatives. Rolle was the second son of Robert Rolle of Heanton in Devonshire, and had sat for Callington in the last three parliaments of James I's reign.⁷ He was one of the most prominent of the 'popular' party. His colleague, William Rous, had married Mary, daughter of Lord Robartes.⁸ Henry Rolle, who was elected in the two following parliaments, was joined

1. Ibid.

2. V.C.H., Surrey, III. 263.

3. D. and S. Lysons, Magna Britannia, III. 74.

4. Courtney, op. cit., p. 6.

5. Carew, op. cit., p. 141.

6. Lysons, op. cit., III. 312.

7. D.N.B., XVII. 162-3.

8. C.S. Gilbert, op. cit., I. 517.

with Francis Rous in 1626. Francis was an uncle of the 1625 member, and had devoted himself to theological study.¹ It is unlikely that Truro would be amenable to any Duchy pressure. In 1626 the port towns of that district had refused to set forth a ship for the King's service,² and in the same year Truro would not permit its men to attend the general musters.³ This independent attitude was reflected in the 1628 election when Richard Daniell, a merchant of Truro and mayor in 1622⁴, was returned.

A study of the non-Duchy Cornish boroughs indicates that there was considerable electoral variation during this period. At Truro and Michael, for instance, only one courtier was returned out of nine representatives, whereas at Bodmin and St. Mawes all the M.Ps. elected, save one, were courtiers. In the 1625 election nine courtiers were returned for the non-Duchy boroughs, and only six in 1628. Nineteen courtiers were elected for all the Cornish boroughs in 1625. This number had decreased to sixteen in 1626, and fourteen in 1628. The percentage of courtiers returned for non-Duchy boroughs was higher than that for Duchy boroughs. This is partly attributable to the fact that several Duchy boroughs were held by local gentry, who exercised a predominant influence in parliamentary elections. Indeed, nearly all the Cornish boroughs were too small to be independent, and consequently were open to patronage. The courtiers returned between 1625 and 1628 were mainly local gentry, sympathetic to the Court, Duchy officials or minor office-holders related to the Cornish gentry. There is no evidence to suggest that the Duchy made a systematic attempt to return its nominees. Nevertheless, Cornish boroughs proved a well stocked hunting-ground for courtiers.

1. D.N.B., XVII. 316-7.

2. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1625-6., p. 449.

3. Ibid., 1625-6., p. 387.

4. R. Polwhele, The History of Cornwall ----- V. 61.

CHAPTER IV.

County Elections 1625-8.

County elections are a reflection, in general, of the social structure of the county communities. Their character remains unaltered from the Elizabethan period, and despite variations between the counties, there is a fundamental similarity between them all, for a county election was primarily determined by the relative powers within each area of the constituent members of its governing class.

The county election was held at the next county court after the receipt of the parliamentary writ of summons. According to the statute of 23 Henry VI c 14, the elections were supposed to begin between eight and eleven o'clock in the morning,¹ but in the Elizabethan period, as a result of a printer's error, elections commenced between eight and nine.² A proposed electoral reform bill in 1621 suggested an amended time of between nine and eleven.³ Sir Edward Coke in the Fourth Part of the Institutes gives the correct time,⁴ which indeed was in common usage by 1625.⁵ Although the election began between the hours of eight and eleven, the poll could continue for several days, and in the Gloucestershire election of 1624 it was

1. Statutes of the Realm. II. 341.

2. J.E. Neale, 'Three Elizabethan Elections', Eng. Hist. Rev., XLVI.

3. Commons' Debates of 1621 (ed. Notestein, Relf and Simpson), II. 277. ^{215. n. 5.}

4. Edw. Coke, The Fourth Part of the Institutes (1671), p. 48. The first edition was published in 1644, although Coke had collected materials earlier. D.N.B., IV. 699.

5. Debates in the House of Commons in 1625 (ed. S.R. Gardiner), pp. 36-7; C.J. I. 802-3.

confirmed that it was legal both for freeholders to give their voices after the poll had begun and after eleven o'clock.¹

At the county court, the Sheriff read the King's proclamation for a new parliament and then his writ of summons.² After this, the names of candidates were proposed, generally by the Justices, or perhaps by the Sheriff.³ When there was no contest, the election was completed by a general shout of accord, and this was indeed satisfactory for the first place in a contested election, provided it was unchallenged. On the other hand, if a vote was challenged, the sheriff proceeded to a judgment by view. This entailed the separation of the contestants into groups and was a rough means of ascertaining the respective strength of the parties. It almost invariably led to a demand for a poll, which could not be refused.⁴ The poll was normally taken by the Sheriff and his officers, assisted by members of both sides. Each party could challenge a voter's qualifications, by questioning (1) whether he possessed a 40s freehold, (2) whether he were resident within the county on the day of the date of the writ, and (3) whether he had previously polled.⁵ It was not, however, essential for him to declare his name.⁶ The Sheriff then drew up the indenture and made the official return to Chancery. It was not necessary

1. John Glanville, Reports-(1775), p. 102.

2. Carte MSS. 78. f. 144.

3. Neale, The Elizabethan House of Commons, p. 86.

4. Coke, op. cit., p. 48.; Neale, op. cit., p. 88.; C.J. 1. 802.

5. C.J. 1. 884. The Yorkshire Election of 1628.

6. C.J. 1. 884. ; B.M., Harleian MSS. 2313. f. 50.

to insert the names of any of the freeholders in the Indenture.¹

The key man at an election was the Sheriff.² Bishop Bayley of Bangor advised Sir John Wynn in 1626 to obtain the nomination of his son Owen as the Sheriff for the following year. He stressed the advantages to be derived from possessing a friend in that position: "And you are not ignorant what sway the Sheriffe hath in times of election, and in packinge of Juries to serve their turnes. And because that this yeare is like to prove a yeare wherein a new parliament is like to be summoned, and the clocke like to be sett hither for continuall warres, or for continuall peace, and if peace be not settled, the greater sturres are like to arise that ever were in christendome, and in such stirres the Sheriffe must be the chiefe man".³ He had ample opportunity for trickery, allied as he often was with one party or another. He could delay publishing the writ of summons, which would give not only the favoured candidate more time for preparation, but also put to great trouble many of the opposition freeholders, who might be gathered in anticipation of a summons and unwilling to make the journey a second time. A common device was to alter the usual place of polling.⁴ One of the clauses in the proposed electoral reform bill of 1621 was designed to prevent this abuse⁵ - an

1. C.J. 1. 884.

2. T.P. Taswell-Langmead, English Constitutional History (ed. T.F.T. Plucknett), p. 223. The Sheriff was liable to a penalty of one hundred pound for any misdemeanour at an election. The interested party, however, would often undertake to recompense him for such a loss.

3. Wynn of Gwydir Papers, MS. 9061E. f. 56.

4. The writ ordering the election contained no instructions as to where the county court should be held.

5. Commons' Debates of 1621, 111. 411.

indication of its prevalence. A party might occupy the polling hall the night previous to the election.¹ If the Sheriff was in league with the adverse party, he could commence the proceedings in the customary place and then withdraw elsewhere and conclude the election there.² A Sheriff could either count individual voters, without reference to which part of the county they came from, or else conduct the poll regionally by hundreds. In the latter instance, he could commence with the hundreds in which the favoured candidate had the majority. As the poll could extend over a period of several days, many freeholders would withdraw before their votes were registered. Furthermore, a Sheriff could frighten all freeholders who could on any pretext be challenged - freeholders, for instance, who had previously escaped jury-service and subsidy payments. In the first three parliaments of Charles I's reign, five complaints were made against the conduct of sheriffs at elections.³ Thus William Coriton complained that "divers misdemeanours" had been committed by the Sheriff of Flint at the county election in 1626.

1. Journal of the Court and Times of James I, 1. 236.

"But Sir Henry Rich going confidently into Norfolk with my lord chamberlain's warrant and letters, missed the mark, by reason the sheriff, upon less than half a day's warning, adjourned the county court from Norwich, where it is usually held, and where Sir Harry had more than four thousand freeholders ready, to a place twenty miles off and more, where Sir - Bedingfield and Sir Hammond le Strange carried away the goal. And though this were but a trick of the sheriff, yet they say he may do it by law, and the other is without remedy."

2. Glanville, Reports, pp. 80 seqq.

3. 1625 Yorkshire election, C.J. 1. 801; 1626 Flintshire election, C.J. 1. 855; 1626 Dorsetshire election, where the sheriff would not permit anyone to vote, who would not swear that he was present at the reading of the writ. It was further claimed that an oath to this purpose was partially administered. C.J. 1. 818; 1626 Leicestershire election. C.J. 1. 841; H.M.C., 13th. Rpt., App., VII. 14; 1628 Warwickshire election. C.J. 1. 873.

Unfortunately, these misdemeanours are not specified. Indeed, the information provided by the printed Commons' Journal concerning such irregularities is very meagre.

The Lord Lieutenant of a county - usually the chief nobleman - could also use his official position in order to intervene in the elections.¹ It was reported that the Earl of Pembroke, Lord-Lieutenant of Cornwall, had written to his deputy-lieutenants in 1628 "requiring them (as, saith mine author, it was related to me) to call the colonels, lieutenant-colonels, captains, and the trained bands, all armed, to be present at the election".² Trickery at the election was not confined to the sheriff. Rival parties sometimes resorted to cunning or violence to achieve their ambition. A not unusual device was the creation of additional freehold, which would revert to its original

1. Thus Mr. Nevill of Cressing Temple wrote describing the elections in county Essex to the Short Parliament: "Before the election the Earl of Warwick made good use of his lord-lieutenancy in sending letters out to the captains of the train-bands, who, having power to charge the people with arms [they] durst not offend, which brought many [to be] of his side". Cal. S.P. Dom., 1639-40, pp. 608-9.

2. Court and Times of Charles I., I. 329.

owner after the election.¹ Such irregular creation was practised for the advantage of the 'popular' candidates in the Essex county election of 1628. Edward Nuttall reported to Nicholas that "I heare this morning that dyvers richmen that be freeholders have sould for some twoe dayes, some three or foure dayes to poore men that have no freehold lande nor coppihould at all 4^L a yeare some 5^L a yeare that they may come in and take thear oathe yf thear should be opposition thus they be freeholders and soe soone as this election is over then to returne back again the sayde estates".² Landowners sometimes brought pressure to bear on their tenants to vote in accordance with their preferences. Thus in the 1621 Carnarvonshire election, two of Sir John Wynn's allies, Sir William Thomas and Sir John Bodvel, were committed for refusing arms to such freeholders as would not vote as directed, while Bishop Bayley of Bangor was called to account in parliament for threatening

1. In the Carnarvonshire election of 1621 Sir William Thomas declared to Sir John Wynn his belief that the opposition was creating new freeholds, "for I doe misse one scribe in Carnarvon, whoe hath, and is as yet there wth them in llyn and I verillie believe imployed for that onlie purpose". That the practice was not confined to one side is revealed by the exhortation of Sir William a fortnight later: "Be sure that yo^r new creations, doe appeare and that they make no scruples, but satisfie their owne consciences when they are putt to it, and well they may, if they be rightly made to understand the matter, for they are ffreeholders for the present, for the Sheriff nor no other cannot question further then accordinge to the Bare letter of the Statute whether they may dispend Xls by the yeare in ffreehold". Wynn of Gwydir Papers, MS. 9057E. ff. 173, 177.

2. B.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/95/35.

his tenants.¹ A complaint was lodged against Mr. Wogan in 1625 that at the Pembrokeshire county election he threatened many, and imprisoned others as soldiers.² In the Norfolk county election to the Short Parliament, Sir John Holland protested to Framlingham Gawdy: "I am sorry John Howses integrity to me at the former Election is become a fault and that the loss of your favour must be his punishment for this offence. He hath warning from you I heare, to bring in your Court Rolles, and depart your service and all for this Cause".³

County elections were contests for power fought by rival members of the landed interest. Their results are made intelligible usually by the social structure of the counties, and follow, particularly, from the relative social positions, within each area, of the contestants and their allies. Hence a survey of the landed interests within a county forms an indispensable preliminary to an adequate understanding of an election. The franchise was uniform and was still regulated in accordance with the Statute of 1430, whereby the electoral qualification was confined to those who possessed a forty-shilling freehold and were resident within the county. With the steady depreciation in the value of money, the total numbers of the electorate gradually increased. In the Norfolk county election of 1625, there were 2,800 'votes' cast,⁴ while in the 1628 Essex election a contemporary estimated that there were between ten and fifteen thousand freeholders present.⁵

A county election was in essence something greater than

1. Cal. Wynn of Gwydir Papers, no. 932.

2. C.J. 1. 806.

3. B.M., Egerton MSS. 2716. f. 333.

4. Correspondence of Lady Katherine Paston 1603-27, Norfolk Record Soc., XLV. 82.

5. Court and Times Of Charles 1., 1. 329.

a mere nomination of two representatives to serve in parliament. It has been described as often being "the symbol of hegemony in the county"¹ - an appropriate description, when we recall that the majority of forty-shilling freeholders were tenants of the landed gentry. An election was often a trial of strength which could breed faction, just as faction could lead to a contested election, and an age which thrived on litigation provided ample opportunity for feuds between the gentry. During both the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods, elections involved the prestige of the participants, who were particularly sensitive to the humiliation of a defeat in the eyes of the county.² Thus, Sir Roger Mostyn writing in 1625 to his father-in-law Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, declared "for my parte in fflintshire it goeth on accordinge to the last choice of Sir John Trevor, whereunto I and all the frindes I had had given consent, and to make a shewe to seeke it and faile, were a greater disgrace than the benefitt thereof would be to him that had it".³ Special importance was attached to the choice of the first knight of the shire. Although Wentworth described the distinction

1. Neale, op. cit., p. 27.
2. Sir Thomas Wentworth writing to Thomas Wentworth concerning the Yorkshire election of 1620 remarked: "I must make use of my Friends and intreat them to deal thoroughly for us, in regard the Loss of it would much prejudice our Estimations above: in which number I esteem yourself one of my best and fastest friends". The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Despatches, 1. 13.
3. N.L.W., Wynn of Gwydir Papers, Panton Group, MS. 9060E. f. 142.

between the first and second place as a "toyish ceremony",¹ nevertheless, in general estimation a wide gulf existed. Equally, once extensive preparations were made for an election, it was difficult to withdraw without loss of face. Sir John pickering, writing in 1626 to his patron Lord Montagu, protested: "Having by your Lordship's means and relation the more deeply engaged myself to stand -- I cannot go back".²

Electioneering activity normally began with the news of the summons of a new Parliament. An individual anxious to represent the county could write to his friends soliciting their support and that of their tenants. Thus Sir Thomas Thynne informed Sir Henry Ludlow of his proposed intention to stand for the county of Wiltshire in 1625: "Being advised by divers my good friends to stande in th' eleccion of one of the knights of this shiere for the parliament I am bolde (persuading of yo^r love) hartily to pray yo^w to grant me yo^r kinde assistance therein by the voices of all yo^r friends and Servants of this county at the election at Wiltes, when the day shalbe appointed by the sheriff for the eleccion of knights in that behalf, wherein if yo^u shall please to stande for me I shall acknowledge yo^r love wth thankfulness".³ On the other hand, a number of the most prominent gentry, perhaps the Justices, would confer and decide on possible candidates. Thus in Somersetshire in 1624, Sir Edward Hext wrote to Sir Robert Phelips: "I wrote unto my good Lord the Byshop that he would move the Justices when they were with him that they would proceade to a peacable allecyon of the Knts of the Shyre, and that they would agree of such as they thought fytt, and so commend them unto the Country".⁴ Similarly, at the Essex

1. The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Despatches, I. 12.

2. H.M.C., Buccleuch MSS, 111. 259.

3. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/1/55.

4. E. Farnham, 'The Somerset Election of 1614', Eng. Hist. Rev., XLVI. 584. n.2.

election of 1628 an attempt made by the majority of the Justices, on the direction of the Privy Council, to impose their nominees on the county was frustrated.¹ A county could be dominated by a nobleman, or noblemen, who might attempt to arrange the election; thus, at Northamptonshire in 1626, Sir John Pickering wrote to Lord Montagu: "Yet caution I think must be observed, to conceal the conclusion your Lordships [Montagu and Spencer] have made, lest the freeholders, whose birthright it is to elect, should take it ill, conceiving themselves to be concluded thereby".² It was natural enough that noblemen should intervene, for elections were regarded as a concern of the community, and of that community the territorial magnates were the head. Objection was raised only to undue solicitation. Thus Sir Edward Coke declared in 1621: "The Statute directeth the Election shall be free, but never was there any Election wherein Men did not labour their Friends by Letter and Entreaty for their Voices".³ The consequence of such arrangements, allied with the fact that representation was considered the prerogative of a few leading families within the county, was to limit severely the number of contested elections. This tendency was strengthened by the degree of inter-marriage among the leading county families. It is probably correct to assert that the greater part of elections did not go to the poll. Contested elections were still the exception rather than the rule; thus, in 1625 positive evidence of contest has been discovered in only seven counties,⁴ out of a possible fifty-one.

The social forces which determined the course of an

1. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1628-9. p. 6.

2. H.M.C., Buccleuch MSS., III. 258-9.

3. Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons in 1620 and 1621 (1766), I. 23.

4. Kent, Middlesex, Norfolk, Yorkshire, Carnarvonshire, Denbighshire and Pembrokeshire.

election varied from county to county. In one county a noble family might occupy a dominant position and monopolise the parliamentary representation, while in another, dominance might be shared amongst the lesser gentry. Almost all depended on the personal attitudes and ambitions of individual territorial magnates and gentlemen. Leicestershire, for instance, had long been controlled by the puritan Earls of Huntingdon. Henry Hastings, the 5th. Earl, was Lord Lieutenant of the county from 1607-42¹ and he and his family exercised a monopoly over the first place of the shire. In 1621, Sir George Hastings, the second son of the 4th. Earl,² was elected unopposed by over one thousand two hundred freeholders;³ Sir Henry Hastings, the second son of the 5th. Earl,⁴ received a slightly smaller number of voices, while his opponent, Sir Thomas Beaumont, did not obtain a hundred.⁵ Such was the disparity in power between the contestants; indeed, normally the social superiority of a Hastings prevented a contested election. In all first three parliaments of Charles I. a Hastings occupied the first seat of the shire. Ferdinando, Lord Hastings, later the 6th. Earl, was elected in 1625 and 1628, while Sir Henry replaced his brother in 1626. He was, however, remiss in his attendance, for three weeks after the commencement of the session, his colleague, Francis Stareshmore of Frolsworth, complained to the Earl that he could expect no assistance from Sir Henry as he had not yet arrived.⁶ This control over the first seat meant that in practice only one place was usually available for the other gentry and this was taken in rotation, except as in 1621, when a Hastings desired both seats. Thus Sir

1. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, VI. 658.

2. J.Nichols, History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester, 111. 608.

3. Carte MSS. 78. f. 144.

4. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, VIII. 166.

5. Carte MSS. 78. f. 144.

6. Ibid., 77. f. 107.

Wolston Dixye of Market Bosworth¹ and Sir Edward Hartopp of Buckminster and Freathby² shared the 1625 and 1628 representation with Ferdinando, Lord Hastings.

Bedfordshire too had its dominant figure - the 1st. Earl of Bolingbroke - a member of whose family invariably sat for the senior county seat. Thus Oliver, Lord St. John, son and heir-apparent of the first Earl,³ was chosen for each parliament from 1624 until 1629, and had as colleague Sir Oliver Luke of Woodend and Haynes,⁴ whose mother was the daughter of Oliver, Lord St. John of Bletsoe,⁵ later the first Earl. His relationship with the St. John family ensured him a seat as one of the knights of the shire in successive parliaments from 1614 until his exclusion in 1648.⁶

Lancashire at this time had its great magnate - William Stanley, 6th. Earl of Derby, who held the office of Lord-Lieutenant of the county with that of Cheshire, first, alone from 1607-26 and then, jointly with his son from 1626-42.⁷ Controlling large territorial possessions, he exercised an important influence in the county. In 1625 Sir Richard Molyneux of Sefton, an hereditary constable of Liverpool castle⁸ and from

1. Nichols, op. cit., vol. 1V. pt. 11. 506.

2. Ibid., vol. 11. pt. 1. 128.

3. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, 11. 204.

4. V.C.H., Bedford. 11. 340.

5. Visitation of Bedfordshire -- [in 7 1634] (Harleian Soc.Pub., vol.XIX), p. 180.

6. W. Cobbett, Parliamentary History, 111. 1249.

7. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, 1V. 213.

8. Ibid., 1X. 44-5.

1623 Receiver-General of the Duchy of Lancaster,¹ occupied the first place, almost certainly with Duchy support. His colleague was Sir John Radcliffe of Ordsall, who had represented the county in the last two parliaments of James I. In 1626 the second son of the 6th. Earl of Derby was returned and naturally took precedence over Sir Gilbert Houghton of Houghton,² a carver in King James I's household,³ who had previously represented the county in 1621. In 1628 Sir Richard again occupied the first seat and had as colleague Sir Alexander Radcliffe, eldest son of Sir John, who had been killed in the expedition to the Isle of Rhé.⁴

In Surrey the shape of the electoral pattern changes. In Elizabeth's time, Charles Howard, the Lord Admiral and Sir William More had established a virtual monopoly of the representation.⁵ Sir William's son, Sir George, a deputy-lieutenant of the county,⁶ who had held several minor positions, including those of Receiver-General to Prince Henry and Lieutenant of the Tower,⁷ prolonged the family hegemony by representing the county in 1597, 1614, 1621, 1625 and 1626. In 1624 he surrendered the county seat to his eldest son, Sir

1. W.R. Williams, Official Lists of the Duchy -- of Lancaster, pp. 29, 121.

2. E. Baines, The History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster (1889), lv. 184.

3. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 40b.

4. W.W. Bean, The Parliamentary Representation of the Six Northern Counties of England, p. 213.

5. Neale, op. cit., pp. 42 seqq.

6. H.M.C., 7th. Rep., App., p. 677.

7. D.N.B., XLII. 861.

Robert, and sat for Guildford, a borough close to his residence at Loseley.¹ He probably did not stand in the third parliament of Charles I's reign as he was over seventy and several years previously, at James I's funeral, had been described as infirm and weak of body.² Nevertheless, he was consulted, for Sir Ambrose Browne wrote to him concerning the electoral arrangements, in which the writer conceived himself to have been badly used.³ It is unlikely that Charles Howard, 2nd. Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Admiral's eldest son, who, at this time, was associated with the Earls of Arundel and Holderness in the lieutenancy of the county,⁴ played such an important electoral role as did his father. The second seat was usually shared among the leading gentry. It was occupied by Sir Francis Leigh of Addington,⁵ a former sheriff,⁶ in 1625 and by Sir Francis Vincent of Stoke D'Abernon⁷ the following year. Sir Ambrose Browne, a deputy-lieutenant,⁸ of Bettsworth Castle⁹ and related by marriage to Vincent,¹⁰ was elected in 1628, as was Sir Richard Onslow of Knoll,¹¹

1. The Loseley Manuscripts, ed. A.J. Kempe (1835), XI.

2. D.N.B., XIII. 861.

3. H.M.C., 7th. Rep., App., p. 676.

4. V.C.H., Surrey. I. 401. On 18 December 1626, the Earl of Nottingham was re-appointed with Lord Wimbledon.

5. Visitation of Surrey --- [in] 1623 (Harleian Soc. Pub., vol. XLIII), p. 14.

6. P.R.O., Lists and Indexes. (List of Sheriffs), IX. 138.

7. E.W. Brayley and E. Walford, A topographical history of Surrey, II. 185.

8. H.M.C., 7th. Rep., App., p. 677.

9. G.E.C., Complete Bart., I. 28.

10. Visitation of Surrey, p. 10.

11. D.N.B., XIV. 1117.

a deputy-lieutenant of the county.¹ The Onslow family was steadily increasing in consequence so that by 1646 the poet, George Wither, in a pamphlet entitled 'Justiciarius justificatus', could accuse Sir Richard of being supreme in the county in all matters, including the disposal of elections.²

The electoral pattern varied from county to county; nevertheless, in several counties, one family of the landed gentry monopolised one of the shire seats.

In Somersetshire there was no nobleman of sufficient consequence to dominate the elections. Although one of the most important patrons of the period, the 3rd. Earl of Pembroke, was Lord-Lieutenant of the county, the influence of a nobleman was in the last resort dependent on the strength of his territorial possessions within a county, and Pembroke's lands and power lay primarily in Wiltshire and mid-Wales. Among the gentry at this time, one family in particular was predominant - the Phelips of Montacute,³ who controlled one of the seats at Taunton.⁴ Sir Robert Phelips, the parliamentary leader, sat for the county in 1624 and 1625. It is just possible that the 1625 election was contested because Edmund Kenne was imprisoned for "giving out scandalous speeches" against Sir Robert at the county election,⁵ and was only released on condition that he apologised at the next general sessions.⁶ His colleague was John Stowell of Cothelstone,⁷ who, in the following year was active as a collector of the forced

1. H.M.C., 7th. Rep., App., p. 677.

2. O.Manning and W. Bray, The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey, 111. 54. n. 'q'.

3. S.W. Bates Harbin, M.P's for the County of Somerset, p. 140.

4. Eng. Hist.Rev., XLVI. 581.

5. A.P.C., 1625-6, pp. 103-4.

6. Ibid., H.M.C., 1st. Rep., App., p. 57. The date of Kenne's release as 1635 is obviously a misprint for 1625.

7. Harbin, op. cit., p. 142.

loan,¹ His father had quarrelled with Sir Edward a few years previously,² and it is just possible that Kenne's imprisonment was connected with his support of Stowell. Sir Robert was one of several opponents of the court nominated as sheriff in 1626, in order to prevent them from sitting in parliament.³ In his stead, Sir Henry Berkeley of Yarlington⁴ and Sir John Horner, a sheriff of the county in 1614, were chosen.⁵ Sir Robert was again elected first knight of the shire in 1628 and with him was Sir Edward Rodney of Rodney Stoke, a Vice-Admiral of Somerset,⁶ who in 1626 had employed himself 'heartily' in raising the forced loan.⁷

In Oxfordshire, the Knollys family had effectively controlled parliamentary nomination during the Elizabethan period,⁸ and it is probable that Sir William Knollys, Viscount Wallingford, the Lord-Lieutenant of the county,⁹ exercised some influence in 1625, although not so preponderant an influence as that of his forbears. During the early years of Charles I's reign the Wenman family monopolised one of the shire seats. Thus, Sir Richard Wenman of Thame Park, created Viscount Wenman of Tuam in 1628,¹⁰ was elected in 1625. The following year

1. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1625-6, p. 445.

2. H.M.C., 1st. Rep., App., p. 58.

3. Gardiner, op. cit., VI. 126. n. 1.

4. Harbin, op. cit., p. 144.

5. P.R.O., Lists and Indexes, 1X. 125.

6. Harbin, op. cit., p. 146.

7. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1625-6, p. 445.

8. Neale, op. cit., p. 33.

9. J.M. Davenport, Oxfordshire Lords Lieutenant, High Sheriffs and M.P's., p. 5.

10. Ibid., p. 121.

Sir Thomas Wenman, the 2nd. Viscount, who had sat for Brackley in the three previous parliaments was returned,¹ while in 1628 he surrendered the seat to a cousin, Sir Francis Wenman. Edward Wray of Rycote,² a groom of the bedchamber to James I,³ who had married Elizabeth, the only daughter of Francis, Earl of Berkshire,⁴ was chosen for the first place in 1625. However, he was compelled to withdraw from the senior seat in 1626, with the arrival of a weightier competitor in the person of James Fiennes, son and heir of the 1st. Viscount Saye and Sele, a prominent puritan.⁵ Fiennes, who served his parliamentary apprenticeship at Brackley the previous year, continued to represent the county in 1628.

The electoral pattern again varies in Suffolk and Cambridgeshire. Here the leading families shared the representation and none was powerful enough to enjoy a sustained monopoly. In 1625 Sir Edmund Bacon of Redgrave,⁶ who had been previously elected for the county in 1593,⁷ was joined with Thomas Cornwallis of Ipswich, who also held the manor of Kettlebars.⁸ In 1626 they were replaced by Sir Robert Naunton of Leatheringham and Sir Robert Crane of Chilton, a deputy-lieutenant of the county.⁹ Naunton had been a Master of Requests, a Surveyor of the Court of Wards, a Secretary of State and finally, on relinquishing the last office, had been appointed in July 1623, Master of the Court of Wards.¹⁰ That

1. O.R., I. 452,459,464.

2. Visitation of Oxfordshire -- [in] 1634 (Harleian Soc.Pub.,vol.V) p. 295.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. G.E.C., Complete Peerage., XI. 488-9.

6. G.E.C., Complete Bart., I. 2.

7. O.R., I. 430.

8. W.A. Copinger, The Manors of Suffolk, IV. 244.

9. H.M.C., 13th. Rep., app.,pt. IV. 441.

10. D.N.B., XIV. 126.

he was a Privy Councillor possibly served as a deterrent to his election. A letter from John Winthrop to Sir Robert Crane illustrates the preliminaries leading to Naunton's election and shrewdly analyses the advantages and disadvantages of electing a privy councillor as a parliamentary representative: "Since I parted from you, I heard of a motion made by a gent. of o^r Countye for Electing Sir Robert Nanton the master of the wards to be one of the knights for o^r Countye so as having Conference wth my broth. Down about it we have thought fitt to move yoselfe and some others in it. I suppose there will be no exception ag^t him, except for that he is a privie Counsellor, w^{ch} may easily be removed by consideration of what he hath formerly suffered for the Com-wealthe and you well knowe of what use the favour and helpe of suche an honorⁿ person may be in the Causes of o^r Countye especially for o^r Clothiers; as for his greatnesse that need not discourage them for besides that I knowe he beares a speciall affection to o^r Countye (and would take it as the greatest honor that could befall him in this kinde, to have this testimonye of their love to him againe) I dare undertake for their readye accesse to him at tymes convenient. If you approve of this motion, I desire you would please to propounde it to the other gent at Sess. and if you think good to write to Ipsw^{ch} or any other place about it".¹ The writer then continues to suggest that Sir Robert or Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston should stand for the second place. Naunton, who probably also enjoyed the support of the Lord-Lieutenant, Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, was returned with Crane. The official returns record the election in 1628 of Sir William Spring of Pakenham² and Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, a deputy-lieutenant of the county.³ It would

1. W.S. Appleton, Memorials of the Cranes of Chilton, p. 75.

2. Copinger, op. cit., VI. 305.

3. H.M.C., 13th. Rep., App., pt. 1V. 441.

appear, however, that Sir Edward Coke was originally chosen: "butt if there had been an other Gentlemen of note theese [Sir Edward Coke and Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston] hade not bene chosen --- the towne of Ipswich had an great affection to eyther of them nor yet most of the country butt there was not tenn gentlemen att this ellection w^{ch} I never did see the lyke before".¹ This is confirmed by Sir Edward's own utterances on the rarity of being chosen for two counties,² and his decision, recorded in the Commons Journal, to waive his election for Suffolk and instead sit for Buckinghamshire.³

In Cambridgeshire the representation was shared by a number of small county families, and the possession of certain estates, such as Landwade, Childerleigh and Wimpole, entailed a virtual right to representation.⁴ Sir John Cutts of Childerleigh, a deputy-lieutenant⁵ and sheriff in 1619,⁶ sat continuously for the county from 1604 until 1626, while Sir Edward Peynton served in successive parliaments from 1621 until 1626. A deputy-lieutenant of the county,⁷ he had been dismissed in 1623 from his office of Custos Rotulorum for writing a book entitled 'The Secret History of James 1 or the Divine Catastrophe of the House of Stewart'.⁸ In 1628 they were replaced by Sir Miles Sandys of Wilberton in the Isle of Ely,⁹ a brother of Sir Edwin Sandys, and Sir John Carleton, a nephew of Sir

1. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/95/35.

2. D.N.B., IV. 694.

3. C.J. 1. 876.

4. V.C.H., Cambridgeshire. 11. 411.

5. H.M.C., 13th. Rep., App., pt. IV. 441.

6. P.R.O., Lists and Indexes, IX. 14.

7. H.M.C., 13th. Rep., App., pt. IV. 441.

8. V.C.H., Cambridgeshire, 11. 404.

9. Visitation of Cambridgeshire [in] 1619 (Harleian Soc. Pub., vol. XL1), p. 6.

Dudley Carleton, vice-chamberlain of the household from 1625 until 1628. Carleton undoubtedly secured his election in consequence of his marriage to Anne, widow of Sir John Cotton of Landwade.¹

In Denbighshire, as in all Welsh counties, the possibilities of a contested election were very much greater because the shire was represented by only one knight in parliament. On 7 April 1625, Sir Thomas Middleton of Chirk Castle, the dominant figure in East Denbighshire,² wrote to Sir John Wynn of Gwydir soliciting his support in the forthcoming election.³ Middleton, the eldest son of Sir Thomas Middleton, a former Lord Mayor of London, was a prominent Puritan and could appeal to the Chirkland and Wrexham voters. Sir John in his reply revealed that since the last election he had given his word to his cousin, William Wynn of Llanvayre, to support the latter's brother, Sir Thomas Wynn of Melai, one of the West Denbighshire houses.⁴ On 20 April we find Sir Thomas Middleton again writing to Sir John: "I am like to receive a strange opposition by the adverse party if I may but presume upon your kindnes heerin I doubt not of prevailing".⁵ Existing records do not reveal details of the contest. Middleton was, however, returned. The following year Sir Thomas Middleton was returned for London. Sir Eubule Thelwall of Plas Coch, the Steward and Recorder of Ruthin,⁶ a former Master in Chancery,

1. G.E.C., Complete Baronetage, II. 20.

2. A.H. Dodd, Wales in the Parliaments of Charles I., Trans. of the Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion (1945), p. 19.

3. Cal. Wynn Papers, no. 1315.

4. Ibid., no. 1317.

5. N.L.W., Wynn of Gwydir Papers, Panton Group, MS. 9060E.f.149.

6. W.R. Williams, The Parliamentary History of the Principality of Wales, p. 72.

and then Principal of Jesus College, Oxford,¹ was returned for Denbighshire. He had first represented the county in 1624 and was again elected for the third parliament of Charles I's reign.

Naturally, whenever a contest was likely, preparations were more extensive and canvassing and solicitation were introduced on a wider scale. This served a two-fold purpose; it enabled a prospective candidate to gauge more accurately his chances and also permitted him to marshal his forces at the poll. Thus Sir William Thomas, writing to Sir John Wynn in 1620, was able to give an accurate account of the strength of their party; they had over 350 freeholders in the commotes of Llyn, 120 in Uchorvay, 70 in Evionyth, 140 in Iscorvay and the town of Carnarvon and 40 in Llechwedd Ychaph.² We can watch in detail these election preliminaries in the Northamptonshire election of 1626, the Yorkshire, Carnarvon and Kent elections of 1625, and the Cornwall election of 1628.

Northamptonshire was well studded with noble houses³ and these territorial magnates played an active part in parliamentary elections. Electoral influence centred around three great families - the Montagus, Spencers and Fanes. The Montagus were "a noble, worthy family and of leading consideration

1. Trans. Cymmrodorion Soc., (1945), p. 24.
2. Cal. Wynn Papers, no. 921. Similarly, Sir Thomas Wentworth writing to Thomas Wentworth in the same year declared: "The course my Lord Darcy and I hold is, to entreat the High Constables to desire the petty Constables to set down the names of all Freeholders within their Townships, and which of them has promised to be at York and bestow their voices with us, so as we may keep the Note as a Testimony of their good affections, and know whom we are beholden unto". The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Despatches, I. 13.
3. The Montagu Musters Book, 1602-23, ed. J. Wake (Northants Rec. Soc., vol. VII), XIV.

in Northamptonshire",¹ whose head, Sir Edward Montagu, had been created Baron Montagu of Boughton in 1623.² Twenty years earlier, Sir Robert Spencer of Wormleighton and Althorp,³ reputed to have been the richest knight in the kingdom,⁴ was created Lord Spencer of Wormleighton.⁵ The third important magnate was Sir Francis Fane, 1st. Earl of Westmorland, whose influence in the county derived from the possessions of his wife, the daughter and heiress of Sir Anthony Mildmay of Apethorpe.⁶ The Lord-Lieutenant of the county, the 2nd. Earl of Exeter,⁷ would appear to have been less prominent. The county itself was divided into two divisions - the East and West - for administrative purposes. The more important western half, which included the town of Northampton, described in 1639 as "a nest of Puritans",⁸ was susceptible to the influence of the Spencers, while Montagu and Westmorland were dominant in the eastern division, the former controlling the hundreds in the western half of the eastern division, the latter in the eastern half. Lord Montagu, writing to Lord Spencer in 1624, desired to continue: "the ancient course observed to have a knight on each side for the better service of the country, without any opposition".⁹ Lord Spencer's reply suggests that this was more of an ideal than an accomplished reality in the past.¹⁰ In this

1. Ibid., XXI. qu. P. Warwick, Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I. p. 221.

2. C. Wise, The Montagus of Boughton and their Northants home, p. 28.

3. V.C.H., Northamptonshire Families, p. 293.

4. Ibid.

5. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, VII. 205.

6. V.C.H., Northamptonshire Families, p. 85.

7. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, V. 218.

8. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1638-9, p. 588.

9. H.M.C., Buccleuch MSS. I. 259.

10. H.M.C., Lord Montagu's MSS., p. 106.

election, Lord Montagu wrote to the mayor and burgesses of Northampton to the effect that Lord Spencer had agreed that both knights of the shire should be selected from the eastern division¹ and that they had nominated Sir Lewis Watson of Rockingham Castle² and Sir John Pickering of Titchmarsh.³ The town of Northampton, however, was little disposed to accept Sir Lewis, and probably welcomed the decision of Sir William Spencer and Richard Knightley to stand again. (They had both been M.Ps for the shire in 1621 and both came from the western division). Lord Montagu now denied any intention of opposing Sir William, but suggested that Knightley should retire in favour of Sir Lewis Watson, thus giving an equitable distribution of the seats between the eastern and western divisions.⁴ The appeal had no success for Sir William and Knightley were again returned to this and the following parliament. In 1626, Knightley was nominated sheriff⁵ and was consequently ineligible for re-election.

On 21 December 1625, Lord Montagu wrote to Lord Spencer to recommend Sir Lewis Watson as one of the knights of the shire and suggested that Sir William Spencer should be joined with him so that "the business [be] carried in love and with small charge, which otherwise may breed new distractions".⁶ Apparently, Lord Montagu also wrote to Sir William Spencer for his concurrence to this proposal, for the latter in his reply expressed his desire not to stand and suggested Sir John Pickering as an alternative choice, adding that "the union shall be ne'er a whit the worse if both be on that side" [the eastern side].⁷

1. H.M.C., Buccleuch MSS. I. 258-9.

2. C.Wise, Rockingham Castle and the Watsons, p.49. Sir Lewis Watson's second cousin was Lord Montagu's eldest daughter.

3. J. Bridges, The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire, II. 383.

4. H.M.C., Buccleuch MSS., I. 259.

5. B.R.O., Lists and Indexes, IX. 94.

6. H.M.C., Buccleuch MSS., III. 257.

7. H.M.C., Lord Montagu's MSS. p. 109.

Lord Montagu then wrote to Knightley, communicating the agreement that Watson and Pickering should be the shire representatives.¹

On 30 December, however, we obtain the first indication in a letter from Sir John Pickering to Lord Montagu that Sir William Spencer had changed his mind and now intended to stand.²

Meanwhile an uneasy alliance reigned between Pickering and Watson. The former was accused of canvassing for votes in Northampton town for his own advantage and not jointly with Watson.³ Such a practice was not confined to one party. Thomas Jenyon in a letter to Edmund Neale and John Harriot, High Constables of Wollaston, urged them to secure the freeholders in the adjoining hundreds for Sir Lewis, as letters had already been distributed to Sir Lewis Pemberton, Mr. Nicholls and others, by some of the gentry in the western division, to procure support for Sir John Pickering.⁴ Although Sir John's principal residence was at Titchmarsh in Navisford hundred in the eastern division, he had married the daughter of Sir Erasmus Dryden of Canons Ashby in the western division⁵ and was consequently acceptable to both halves. Meanwhile, a formidable candidate appeared - Lord Burghersh, the Earl of Westmoreland's eldest son. Rumour spoke of an alliance between Westmoreland and Montagu, whereby Sir Lewis Watson should have the first place and Lord Burghersh the second.⁶ Such an agreement had been mooted in the 1624 election⁷, but the existence of a feud between the two families rendered it impracticable. Disagreement probably commenced over a grant to Sir Francis Fane for felling trees in Rockingham Forest, where Montagu was Lieutenant.⁸ Tension increased towards

1. H.M.C., Buccleuch MSS. 111. 258.

2. Ibid., 111. 259.

3. Ibid., 111. 260-1.

4. Ibid., 111. 261.

5. Bridges, op. cit., 11. 383.

6. H.M.C., Lord Montagu's MSS. p. 110.

7. Ibid., p. 106.

8. H.M.C., Buccleuch MSS., 1. 256-7.

the end of 1624 over the difference as to whether the Quarter Sessions should be removed from Northampton to Kettering.¹ However, Lord Burghersh's nomination was not seriously pressed. Intensive canvassing took place openly in Northampton town for Sir William Spencer and privately for a person to be nominated by the High Sheriff, which was rumoured to be Sir John Pickering.² No information is extant concerning the actual election; it is only known that the "potency of the West [division] by their strength of the town of Northampton"³ prevented the election of Sir Lewis and instead, Sir William Spencer and Sir John Pickering were returned.

Carnarvonshire can be divided into two distinctive groupings - the ~~su~~irearchy occupying the northern coastlands and the old families of Eifionydd and the Lleyn Peninsula to the south, isolated, self-contained and distinguished by their solidarity. The former group, dominated by the Wynn household of Gwydir, whose influence extended over most of the counties

1. In December 1625 a petition of the Northamptonshire J.P.'s was presented to the Privy Council, complaining that the Earl of Westmorland, as Custos Rotulorum, had directed a writ for the keeping of the next Quarter Sessions at Kettering, a place which they argued was unsuitable. A.P.C., 1625-6, p. 256.; Lord Montagu took a prominent part in opposing Westmorland on this issue, supported by Lord Spencer, who advocated "a concluding blow at him in the Star chamber" - advice which Montagu pursued. H.M.C., Buccleuch MSS. 111. 256, 264-5.
2. H.M.C., Buccleuch MSS. 111. 262.
3. Ibid., 111. 263.

in the northern half of the Principality, had long monopolised the most attractive posts and had manipulated the parliamentary representation, the shrievalty and Commissions of the Peace in their own interest.¹ However, a reaction commenced against this domination and Wynn hegemony was challenged in the shire election of 1620. The Wynn interest was represented by Sir Richard Wynn, the second son of Sir John and a groom of the bedchamber to Charles, Prince of Wales,² while the southern families found a leader in John Griffith, junior, of Cefnamwlch, who had married into the Trevors of Trevalyn,³ one of the leading Denbighshire families. Prominent among Griffith's supporters were Sir William Maurice of Clenennau, a deputy-lieutenant of the county,⁴ Sir William Jones, a Justice of the Common Pleas⁵ and considered the 'prime man' in the county;⁶ John Bodwrda, Thomas Glyn of Glynllifon and Thomas Williams of Vaenol, whose aggressive land policy led to a collision with the Wynns in 1623.⁷ The most important of Wynn's supporters were Lewis Bayley, Bishop of Bangor, Sir William Thomas of Coed Helen,⁸ who had considerable influence in the town of Carnarvon, and Sir John Bodvel, related by marriage to the Wynns,⁹ and the one southern squire of note to support his cause. Sir Richard Wynn was defeated at the poll.

1. E. Gwynne Jones, 'The Carnarvonshire Squires 1558-1625', (University of Wales. M.A. thesis), pp. 1 seqq.
2. D.N.B., XXI. 1173.
3. Gwynne Jones, op. cit., p. 37.
4. Cal. Wynn Papers, no. 710.
5. Williams, Parliamentary History of Wales, p. 9.
6. Cal. Wynn Papers, no. 942.
7. Gwynne Jones, op. cit., p. 25.
8. Ibid., p. 14.
9. A.H. Dodd, 'The Tragedy of Colonel John Bodvel', Trans. Carnarvonshire Hist. Soc., (1945), p. 1.

The Wynns retaliated by reviving old Star Chamber proceedings against Griffith.¹ John Griffith was not inactive himself. When Sir Richard petitioned the Prince for a lease of some lead mines in Flintshire, he informed the Prince's Council that Wynn had purposely under-estimated their value.² Furthermore, in July 1622 he obtained a grant of the constableness of Carnarvon castle and hence, of the mayoralty of the town.³ This was a serious reverse for the Wynns, as Sir John had been accepted as mayor by the burgesses, although he had not actually received a formal grant of the office, while Sir William Thomas was acting deputy mayor.⁴ In the 1624 election there was no contest. The Lleyn forces again assembled in strength and Thomas Williams, despite his announcement that he would stand, withdrew in favour of Thomas Glyn, who was accordingly elected.⁵ It would appear that the Wynn faction made no attempt to dispute the election.

The 1625 election was therefore one of vital concern for the Wynn interest. Gwydir hegemony had been shattered as a consequence of the two previous county elections and the 1625 contest could afford Sir John an opportunity to re-establish his supremacy in the county. The Wynn of Gwydir papers enable us to reconstruct the electioneering of the Wynn faction. Apparently Sir John received a visit from Sir Peter Mutton, who indicated his intention of standing for the shire and solicited Sir John's support.⁶ Mutton, whose lands lay in Denbigh, had been a Prothonotary and clerk of the crown in North Wales and in 1621 was appointed Chief Justice of the Great Sessions for the counties of Anglesea, Carnarvon and Merioneth. Three years later he was made a Master in Chancery.⁷ Sir John Wynn agreed to support

1. Cal. Wynn Papers, no. 943.

2. Ibid., no. 998.

3. Ibid., no. 1033.

4. Ibid., nos. 1034, 1041; G. Roberts, 'The Boroughs of North Wales from --- 1535-1832', (University of Wales M.A. thesis) p.107.

5. Cal. Wynn Papers, no. 1189.

6. Ibid., no. 1314.

7. Williams, op. cit., p. 66.

Mutton's candidature, providing the latter could obtain the consent of Sir William Thomas, which in fact was forthcoming.¹ A letter from Sir Edward Littleton, one of the Chief Justices of North Wales,² to Sir William Thomas, revealed that Thomas Glyn proposed to stand, claiming that Mutton was ineligible as he possessed no land in the county.³ This was a common electioneering device, but one with no legal basis. Mutton made little attempt to secure his candidature. Not anticipating any opposition, he had written only to Sir William Thomas, his cousin Thomas Williams and Thomas Glyn.⁴ Furthermore, he informed Sir John, that had he known that there would be competition, he would not have attempted to secure his seat.⁵ The opposition, however, were more active. Glyn had obtained the support of the sheriff, Sir John Bodvel, William Vaughan, John Griffith of Llein, Griffith Jones, Ellis Brinker and John Bodurda, who "hath some 11j score beggars w^{ch} will give voyces wth him (liveing in Aberdaron a Corner of the Countrey by him) for the election".⁶ The Lord Keeper, John Williams, whose sister Mutton had married,⁷ and who displayed an interest in several Welsh county elections,⁸ wrote to Sir Peter suggesting that he stood for one of the Denbigh seats, but with no effect.⁹ Mutton's indifference can be inferred from the

1. Cal. Wynn Papers, no. 1316.

2. D.N.B., XI. 1246.

3. Cal. Wynn Papers, no. 1318.

4. Wynn of Gwydir Papers, MS. 9060E. f. 143.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., f. 146.

7. Williams, op. cit., p. 66.

8. Wynn of Gwydir Papers, MS. 9060E. f. 142.

9. Cal. Wynn Papers, no. 1324.

following chiding letter from Sir John: "The writte came to Carnarvon upon thursday last and S^r William Thomas writteth unto me that one wenesday before being the Countie day the Shirfe and Thomas Glyn were in towne and might have carred it wth the voyce of 20 men wthout any opposiition, wherein I do condeme yo^w much for being soe careles, thereby discrediting yo^r selfe much, and those that be yo^r freinds".¹ Sir John continued that Mutton now had a whole month in which to solicit support and that he could not lose "unles the defecte be in yo^r selfe, for want of solicitation and good handling". Five days later Sir John was writing in a less confident tone, and consoled himself with the thought that success could do Glyn little good.² The Wynn papers afford no further information, except that Thomas Glyn "laboured as if it had been to obtaine a greate prize",³ and that the gentry of Lleyne gathered their forces in strength and obtained the election.

Yorkshire electoral history between 1621 and 1628 has several facets. In one aspect it is a manifestation of a personal conflict between two men; in another it reflects the economic problems of the county and is concerned with the authority of the Council in the North.⁴ Sir John Savile of Howley Hall had been returned for the county in 1601 and 1614. On the latter occasion he had as colleague Thomas Wentworth, whose elder sister was married to Sir George Savile, head of the main branch of the Savile family.⁵ By 1621, a bitter and irreconcilable feud had arisen between the two men. Savile had come into conflict with

1. Wynn of Gwydir Papers, MS. 9060E. f. 146.

2. Cal. Wynn Papers., no. 1334.

3. Wynn of Gwydir Papers, MS. 9060E. f. 158b.

4. A. Gooder, The Parliamentary Representation of the County of York. (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), 11. 121.

5. Reid, op. cit., p. 395.

the government in the 1614 parliament, a collision intensified by his support of the corporation of York against the President and the Council in the North.¹ In December 1615, Savile was compelled to surrender his office of Custos Rotulorum of the West Riding,² after the Lord President had complained that he was abusing the position "to satisfy his own ends".³ He was, however, permitted to name his successor and chose Wentworth, probably in the expectation that the office would later revert to himself. By 1617 Savile had made his peace with the Court and Wentworth was asked to resign the post in favour of Savile.⁴ He refused and explained the position to Buckingham's satisfaction.⁵ The quarrel was further embittered when Wentworth was admitted to the Council in the North in July 1619 at the Lord President's request.⁶ The 1621 shire election, when Wentworth and Sir George Calvert, one of the Secretaries of State,⁷ were opposed by Sir John Savile and his son, was in essence something deeper than a struggle for personal hegemony in the county, for each had become the representative of a particular interest. In 1620 there was a severe economic crisis in the county, which bore hardly on the clothing districts of the West Riding.⁸ The previous harmony between the clothiers and landowners, supported by the

1. Ibid., p. 396.

2. Gooder, op. cit., II. 125.

3. J.J. Cartwright, Chapters in the History of Yorkshire, pp. 184-5.

4. Gooder, op. cit., II. 126.

5. The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Despatches, I. 4.

6. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1619-23, p. 59; Reid, op. cit., p. 396.

7. D.N.B., III. 722.

8. W.R. Scott, English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720, I. 166 seqq.

Council in the North, was replaced by a conflict of interest, in which the clothiers found a leader in Sir John Savile, and the landowners a standard-bearer in Sir Thomas Wentworth. Wentworth, who brought a thousand voices of his own to the election, was returned with Calvert.¹ In 1624, the Saviles were able to obtain their revenge, relegating Wentworth to Pontefract, where he was elected despite opposition.²

In 1625 there were five prospective candidates - William Mallory of Studley,³ the Saviles, Sir John and his son Sir Thomas, Sir Thomas Wentworth, who was 'paired' with Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton.⁴ It was claimed that "scandalous and seducing" letters were distributed for the advantage of the Saviles, aimed at Mallory, apparently on religious grounds.⁵ It is possible that he was accused of being a recusant, for hatred of popery was strong enough in the following year to blight the electoral cause of the Lord President, Lord Scrope, who fell under suspicion for his leniency towards the Catholics.⁶ Wentworth was active and thorough in his own cause. He addressed letters to the leading gentry; typical of them is one to Sir Francis Trappes: "-- I thought good hereby to give you a Touch, desiring that you will ('till you hear further from me) for the present only deal with all your Friends thus far, that you understand there will be a new election, that for certain I will be there in Person; then you may, if you hold me worthy of it, let know how fit it will be for them to chuse me Prime; and lastly, to deal effectually with them all to be there, and not to engage themselves anywhere else, 'till they hear further from

1. The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Despatches, I. 12.

2. Ibid., I. 19; Cartwright, op.cit., p.214. suggests that Wentworth contested the county seat, but he gives no evidence to support this statement.

3. Visitation of Yorkshire - [in] 1612, p. 157.

4. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, V. 229.

5. The Fairfax Correspondence, ed. G.W. Johnson, I. 6-7.

6. Reid, op. cit., p. 397.

you".¹ Wentworth also reserved a place for himself at Pontefract,² in the event of failure for the county seat. Sir George Wentworth of Woolley wrote to his father-in-law, Sir Thomas Fairfax, to acquaint him with the position in the wapentake of Stancross.³ Here, all the gentlemen proposed to support Sir Thomas Wentworth and Sir Thomas Fairfax, with the exception of Sir Francis Wortley, who had only canvassed for Wentworth. Although Wentworth and Fairfax were successful, their return was disputed in parliament and the election voided.⁴ A new writ was issued and electioneering was resumed. Wentworth again displayed much zeal; in a letter to Fairfax he recounts his activity: "I have written to my Lord of Cumberland and my Lord Clifford, in both our behalfs. It should be handsomely infused into the gentry how much it concerns them to maintain their own act, and that the whole kingdom looks not only whether Sir John be able to carry it against you and me, but indeed against all the gentlemen too besides. The other freeholders should, by some fit instruments, be led to understand that they have reason to stand to the first election, by reason we were put forth by a faction for serving them honestly and boldly; the little cause they have to choose Sir John, that did so apparently wrong them by bringing in apprentices, and such as had not voice, but to their danger and prejudice".⁵ Wentworth then continues to advocate a practical measure, that two hogsheads of wine and half a score of beer should be laid in stock in order to enable the freeholders to refresh themselves in the hot season. The new election saw Wentworth and Fairfax once again triumphant.

Extensive preparations were also made for the Kent

1. The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Despatches, I. 25.

2. Ibid.

3. The Fairfax Corr., ed. G.W. Johnson, I. 7-8.

4. C.J. I. 804.

5. The Fairfax Corr., ed. G.W. Johnson, I. 8-10.

county election of 1625. There were four candidates - Sir Albertus Morton, the principal Secretary of State, Lord Burghersh, the Earl of Westmorland's eldest son, Sir Edwin Sandys and Edward Scott of Scott's Hall.¹ On 11 April Buckingham wrote to Sir Richard Bingley and Joshua Downing to procure all their friends and tenants for Morton and "particularly all such freeholders at or about Rochester or Chatham as have any relation to mee or my office of Admirall".² Three days later, the Earl of Westmorland wrote to Sir Anthony and Sir Edward Dering, importuning them to support his son and the secretary.³ Sir Edward also received a letter from the Earl of Dorset in support of Morton for the first place and Sandys for the second.⁴ It is possible that Sandys also received assistance from Buckingham, for on his entreaty Buckingham recommended his son to a borough the same year⁵ and in 1626 supported the candidature of Sandys for Kent.⁶ On 20 April the Earl of Montgomery addressed a letter to the mayor of Rochester on behalf of Morton for the first place and Lord Burghersh for the second: "beeth of them being

1. Visitation of Kent - [in] 1619, p. 129.
2. B.M., Add. MSS. 37,819.f.11. Bingley was Admiral of the Narrow Seas. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1625-6, p. 111; Downing, assistant to the Commissioners of the navy. Ibid., 1625-6, p. 109.
3. B.M., Stowe MSS. 743. f. 60.
4. Ibid., f. 64.
5. B.M., Add. MSS. 37,819. f. 11b. The name of the borough is not stated.
6. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1625-6., p. 217.

bredd in that county and well knowne to the better sort there and such as are boeth able and willing to doe yo'r countrey service".¹ Morton and Burghersh were successful. Sandys apparently accepted his defeat with little grace for John Chamberlain records that "finding the adverse partie strong [he] made an oration or speech none of the wisest as yt is reported, but for all his haranguing he lost the day, though he cavilled much at the Sheriff as partiall, whereas yt is verrefied there were at least three to one against him".²

There was considerable electioneering in the Cornwall election of 1628. Sir John Eliot took no active part in the election preliminaries,³ but William Coryton distributed his ticket throughout most of the parish churches in Cornwall. This merely gave the place, date and time of election and requested "that the ffreeholders ought to be there to give there voyces, these that have fforty shillings yearly of an inheritance, or for terme of there owne lives, or for anothers life, to w^{ch} they are requested that there may be a dewe election".⁴ On 5 February Coryton unsuccessfully moved Sir Reginald Mohun, Sir Bevill Grenville and Sir William Wray for their voices. Accordingly, he campaigned through the whole county, stating that he had suffered for his country.⁵ The Cornish 'court' gentry also laboured for their candidates - Sir Richard Edgecumbe and John Mohun. They employed the King's posts in carrying letters.⁶

1. Gentleman's Magazine (1798), 1. 116-7.
2. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/2/27.
3. Forster, op. cit., 11. 110.
4. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/96/48.
5. J. Allan, History of the Borough of Liskeard and its vicinity, app.p. 549.
6. C.J. 1. 895. Letters were sent on 12 and 26 February subscribed by Reginald Mohun, William Wray, Barnard Greenevyle, John Trelawney, Richard Edgecumbe, John Mohun, Walter Langdon, Richard Trevanion and Edward Trelawney. C.J. 1. 874.

According to one letter, some of the deputy-lieutenants and J.P.'s were intending to petition the King for a loan of ships to defend the coast, the payment of coat and conduct money, exemption from billeting and the establishment of a county magazine. The letter continues that if Coryton stands, they will oppose him with all their strength as he is out of favour with the King and that if he is elected, the King would not accede to their request.¹ A second letter was distributed suggesting that men of moderation should be chosen and that voices should be given for A and B.² We possess little information concerning the actual election. One report declared that between four to five thousand freeholders gave their voices for Eliot and Coryton.³ Sir James Bogg complained that Bevil Grenville, John Arundell and Charles Trevanyon came to the election "wth five hundred men at each of their heeles and lodged in Towne together, w^{ch} in itself is not only unlawfull so to give theire Voices and to assemble such a bodie of men, but they by theire so comming together through feare doe constraine or exclude those that Indifferentlie thought to give their Voices to the Election-"⁴ Two indentures were returned, one from Mr. Sparkes, as deputy to the sheriff of Cornwall, and another from the 'court' gentry, who apparently held their own assembly meeting, at which they elected Sir Richard Edgecumbe and John Mohun.⁵ Several of the 'court' gentry for their presumption in intervening and attempting to prevent a free election were punished.⁶

The purpose of the election preliminaries was to obtain as much support as possible for the favoured candidate. Details concerning actual elections are almost non-existent at this time. It is possible, however, to give more precise information about

1. B.M., Harleian MSS. 4771. f. 13.

2. Ibid.

3. Allan, op. cit., app. p. 549.

4. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/96/36.

5. C.J. 1. 876.

6. Ibid., 1. 896-7.

the Yorkshire election of 1625, although much of the evidence is meagre and ex parte. A petition subscribed by over a thousand freeholders was exhibited against the return of Sir Thomas Wentworth and Sir Thomas Fairfax.¹ The Sheriff, Sir Richard Cholmley, was accused of several offences; firstly, that he gave judgment for Wentworth and Fairfax upon the view and before he had conducted a poll, whereas Sir John Savile had most voices; secondly, that he granted the poll only as an act of courtesy and lastly, that having commenced the poll, he discontinued it after only thirty-five names had been recorded.² The Sheriff in his defence claimed that he granted a poll prior to the request for it. Furthermore, he decided to conduct the poll at the Postern gate and had enrolled about thirty-five freeholders, when he discovered that the Foregate was broken open and that many freeholders had dispersed on being told by Sir John Savile that the poll would last for several days.³ Accordingly, he concluded the poll. Wentworth added that many of Savile's supporters were not freeholders, that he did not demand the poll until after eleven o'clock and that many of his company were admitted after this hour.⁴ The election was voided by the Commons, but the Sheriff was cleared from any misdemeanour.⁵ Nevertheless, it is possible that the Sheriff was in collusion with Wentworth,⁶

1. C.J., I. 799; Debates in the House of Commons in 1625, ed.

S.R. Gardiner, p.13 states that the petition was subscribed by 1450 freeholders.

2. C.J., I. 801-2.

3. Ibid.

4. Debates in the House of Commons in 1625, p.44; C.J. I. 801-2.

5. C.J., I. 804. The election was voided because of the illegality in barring from the poll those not present at the reading of the writ.

6. Reid., op. cit., p. 397. Cholmley was a kinsman of the Lord President and a friend of Sir Thomas Wentworth.

while the accusation that Savile tried to dismiss Wentworth's supporters and that several of his followers were not genuine freeholders, has an authentic ring.

It was natural enough in view of the increased prestige attaching to the representation of a shire, that many gentry should be prepared to expend money to obtain their election, although Prynne's description in 1663 of gentry who were "so ambitious, vainglorious, indiscreet as to spend one or more thousands of pounds to procure an election in any county"¹ is not applicable to this period. The expenses entailed by one candidate in the Derbyshire election to the Long Parliament amounted to £300. This included provision for lodgings, suppers, breakfasts and dinners for a number of the freeholders. Thus, 133 voters were lodged at the 'Rose and Crown' at a cost of £13.2.6., while at the chief inn - 'The Talbot' - 240 were lodged for £33.17.6. Other items consisted of hogsheads of beer, runlets of sack, claret and white wine, tobacco and such miscellanea as hay for horses.² In the Kent election of 1625, it was reported that Sir Albertus

1. Parliamentary Writs, IV. 610.
2. H.M.C., 12th. Rep., App., pt. 111. 138-141; V.C.H., Derbyshire. 11. 136.; As many freeholders resided some distance from the county town, it was essential to house and feed them. Inns were often rented for this purpose as in the Essex county election of 1604. M.E. Bohannon, 'The Essex Election of 1604', Eng. Hist. Rev., XLVIII. 400 seqq.; Disbursements amounting to £155.9.6. were made at the Herefordshire election of knights to the Long Parliament. H.M.C., 14th. Rep., App., pt. 11. 66; Sir Thomas Barrington's expenditure in the Essex election to the Short Parliament was considerably less - the principal item for £24.10.6. was for "diet and wine and beer at the Lion Inn, and a hogshead of wine and a butt of beer given at the Bell". Neale, op. cit., pp. 328-9.

Morton's expenses totalled between two to three hundred pounds.¹ If there was no contest, the expenses were considerably reduced. Thus, Sir John Pickering was delighted with the electoral agreement between Lords Montagu and Spencer in Northamptonshire in 1626 because it would 'ease the charge'.²

It is impossible to be dogmatic and determine precisely the more intangible influence and part played by religion in county elections. Religious considerations were occasionally introduced into elections primarily for the purpose of discrediting one's opponents, who were condemned as papists. Sir Edwin Sandys is said to have obtained his election in 1624 in Kent "by crying down his rivals Sir Nicholas Tufton and Sir Dudley Digges as papist and royalist".³ In the Yorkshire election of 1625, letters were written against William Mallory, whose grandfather may have been a Catholic.⁴ Fairfax in commenting upon this declares "by these means, as if the state of religion did lie upon the state, they [their opponents] will no doubt accumulate such a multitude of people in these well-disposed towns of trades, as they will be powerful".⁵ It would appear that Puritans were active in the Essex elections of this period.⁶ In 1640, a complaint was made that "the Corporations in Essex consist mostly of Puritans, who having had their voices in electing their own burgesses, then for them to elect knights is more than the greatest lord in England has!"⁷ But the importance of the religious factor should not be exaggerated. Elections were predominantly contests of estates, not of beliefs: they were, at bottom, an extension into politics of the personal and group rivalries which divided the landed classes of English society.

1. Court and Times of Charles I. I. 18.

2. H.M.C., Buccleuch MSS. III. 258.

3. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1623-5. p. 150.

4. Gooder, op. cit., II. 30.

5. The Fairfax Corr., ed. G.W. Johnson, I. 6.

6. Eng. Hist. Rev., XLVIII. 404.

7. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1639-40., p. 609.

CHAPTER V.

Borough Elections 1625-8.

The very diversity of parliamentary boroughs prevents any sweeping generalisations. The evidence on which conclusions are based can be derived from a study of municipal and family records. Many of the larger borough records are in print; others have either perished or else provide little of interest for the student of parliamentary elections. Hence it is necessary to supplement the information by an analysis of the relationship between an M.P. and his constituency.

With the exception of London, which returned four representatives, and certain others (all the Welsh boroughs and four English ones) which were single-member constituencies, the parliamentary boroughs in 1625 sent two members to Westminster. The boroughs differed considerably in wealth, population and 'government' - a variety which was reflected in the parliamentary franchise. Although there was little uniformity, the boroughs can be roughly classified under four heads, namely, those in which the right to vote depended on (a) residence - normally accompanied by the payment of scot and lot, (b) tenure - generally entailing the possession of ancient tenements, (c) the possession of a corporate office, and (d) incorporation - whereby the freemen of a chartered town voted exclusively, or else shared the right with electors possessing different qualifications.¹ Local usage determined the conditions governing the creation of freemen, which could be acquired by apprenticeship, by birth, by marriage or by gift of the corporation, while residence within the borough might or might not be essential. Although the franchise of a borough might be democratic in form, it did not necessarily follow

1. E.C. Whitworth, Parliamentary Franchise in the English Boroughs During the Stuart Period. (University of London, M.A. thesis), pp. 5 seqq.

that the borough was independent. Wendover, where the populace possessed the vote, was dominated by a local magnate,¹ while King's Lynn, where the franchise was exercised by a close corporation,² invariably returned local men. The degree of resistance offered to outside encroachment was determined by the conjunction of two factors - the wealth and population of a borough, and the condition and size of its electorate. A large electorate did not inevitably guarantee a borough's independence. At Westminster, where over a thousand polled,³ the Duke of Buckingham was able to secure the return of his nominee in both 1625 and 1626. The limits to patronage were imposed by the wealth and degree of municipal organisation within the borough. A small borough was less capable of asserting its independence and the smaller the electorate, the easier it was for a patron to control the nomination.

The great majority of boroughs were wholly or partly under the domination of a local landlord or territorial magnate. However, as the franchise was uniform only in its diversity, it is impossible to generalise with any degree of accuracy. The degree of pressure exerted by local gentry constantly varied. Nevertheless, an analysis shows that the smaller boroughs were more susceptible to pressure. In 1620, Gatton had seven tenements, six of which were owned by one individual, who controlled the representation of the borough.⁴ At Christchurch, the lord of the manor had long possessed the right to nominate one member.⁵ The position was

1. V.C.H., Buckinghamshire. III. 22.
2. Taffs, op. cit., p. 142.
3. Court and Times of Charles I. I. 327.
4. V.C.H., Surrey. III. 197.
5. Ibid., Hampshire. V. 87.

identical at Bishop's Castle, where the Earl of Northampton wrote to the corporation on 21 October 1614 that "although the election is theirs by right, the inheritance of the borough is his and therefore it cannot be feared that he will not be more careful than any to provide for the public weal of the town".¹ Indeed, the inhabitants 'forebore' to admit new burgesses until the Earl had signified his approval, as this was a "disadvantage to him"² - presumably, because the larger the electorate, the more difficult it would be for him to control the election. By 1625 Sir Robert Howard was "lord of the manor,"³ and he was returned continuously for the borough from 1624 until 1640. Wendover was another proprietary borough;⁴ it had been restored in 1624 on the representation of John Hampden,⁵ who sat for the borough in successive parliaments from 1624 until 1629, while his brother Richard was his colleague in 1625. The position at Thirsk was very similar. The borough was held during the first half of the seventeenth century by the Earls of Derby.⁶ The borough bailiff in a petition to Lord Strange, Lord of the Manor, in July 1620 records that "the borough men having free election of burgesses doe usually (if the lord of the manor require the same) electe for one of their burgesses some worthie p'son as the lord comaundeth them".⁷ The Lawley family was influential at Wenlock,⁸ the Whitmores at Bridgnorth,⁹ while at Guildford,

1. H.M.C., 10th. Rep., App. pt. IV. 406.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., IV. 403.

4. V.C.H., Buckinghamshire. III. 22.

5. Lord Nugent, Some Memorials of John Hampden (1832), I. 87 seqq.

6. V.C.H., North Riding, Yorks. II. 63.

7. W. Grainge, The Vale of Mowbray, p. 94.

8. H.F.J. Vaughan, 'Wenlock Corporation Records', Trans. Shrops. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc., 2nd. Ser. VI. 276.

9. H.T. Weyman, 'M.P's for Bridgnorth', Trans. Shrops. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc., 4th. Ser. V. 8-9.

the More family, whose seat of Loseley was situated two miles from the town, virtually monopolised one place from 1553.¹ There was little variation in the electoral position at Tavistock which had been in the possession of the Russells, Earls of Bedford, from 1539.² The returning officer was the portreeve elected annually at the court leet of the manor, a convenient instrument through whom the lord of the manor could express his desires at election time. The fourth Earl of Bedford six times secured the return of John Pym, the future parliamentary leader.³ The elections at Pontefract also illustrate the dominating influence of a local magnate, a powerful neighbour. Here, in consequence of a disputed election in 1624, the House of Commons had agreed that "all inhabitants, householders resident there, as well as freeholders", were to exercise the parliamentary franchise.⁴ In 1625 Sir Thomas Wentworth virtually arranged the election. In a letter to the mayor he declared: "I have thought good to desire yourself and the rest of my good Friends of Pontefract, that I might still stand one of their Burgesses, since I will serve for no other but them, unless as Knight of the Shire, whereby, your particular included in the general, I shall be equally bound to serve you as well as the rest of the County. I do likewise much wish, that the Difference risen by reason of the last election may be composed, your Town have in itself by that means Love and good Agreement, and abroad all Friends to the Welfare thereof: and therefore considering the Ability and Capacity of the Person, and my

1. E.W. Brayley and E. Walford, A topographical history of Surrey.
I. 200.

2. J.J. Alexander, 'Tavistock as a parliamentary borough',
Part I, 1295-1688, Trans. Devon Assoc. XLII. 259.

3. Ibid., XLII. 262.

4. C.J., I. 714, 797.

particular Respect unto him, I do exceeding much desire Sir John Jackson may be my Partner in that Service; and in case I shall serve in the Other Place, that you then would join Sir Richard Beaumont with Sir John Jackson".¹ Wentworth was elected for the county and in accordance with his wishes, Sir John Jackson and Sir Richard Beaumont for the borough. The following year, Sir John, in response to a letter from Wentworth, explained that he had long hesitated to stand for the approaching parliament. He continued: "For my joining with Sir Francis Foljambe, I protest I desire his company in that Service, and will endeavour it, yet not in so publick a Manner as you seem to wish, as conceiving it would prove extreamly prejudicial to both".² Both Sir John and Sir Francis were returned - such was the potency of Wentworth's influence.

Most boroughs had one characteristic in common: their subservience, albeit in different degrees, to external pressure. The great territorial magnates exercised an influence over a number of boroughs. In 1614 it was alleged in parliament that "noblemen engrossed the burgesships, some eight, some ten".³ One of the proposed recommendations in an electoral reform bill introduced in the parliament of 1621 was that "No lord to comnd by letter and to be retourn^d".⁴ As High Stewards of boroughs, they were often permitted to nominate one member. Their effective power was further increased if they held the position of Lord-lieutenant. Sir John Suckling in a letter of advice to the House of Commons fulminates against the misuse of the office: "Where the law giveth freedom to corporations to elect burgesses,

1. The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Despatches. I. 26.

2. Ibid., I. 34.

3. Commons' Debates 1621, VII. 634.

4. Ibid. III. 411-12.

and forbideth any indirect course to be taken in their election, many of the corporations are become so base-minded and timorous, that they will not hazard the indignation of a lord-lieutenants letter, who underhand sticks not to threaten them with the charge of a musket, or a house in a muster, if that he hath not the election of the burgesses, and not they themselves and commonly those that lords recommend, are such as desire it for protection, or [are] so ignorant of the place that they serve for, as there being occasion to speak of the corporation for which they are chosen, they have asked there neighbours sitting by, whether it was a sea or a land town?"¹ If we disregard the pardonable exaggeration, the statement contains more than a grain of truth for noblemen could and did bring pressure to bear on boroughs. Thus, fear of possible consequences combined with the advantages of patronage, served to simplify the task of a nobleman. A letter from Sir William Thomas to Sir John Wynn of Gwydir concerning the proposed desire of Edward Littleton, Chief Justice of North Wales, to stand for Carnarvon in 1625 illustrates the difficulties confronting a borough: "It weare not convenient in my oppinion to Contend wth them for the place, beinge our Justice of Assise, and one whom Carnarvon and Conwey would not willingly Contradict, for then would wthdrawe their favours for the assises from that place that did oppose them; Besides the speciall note and knowledge that no doubt they will take against such peculiar psons as will not Cleeve to theire side".²

An aspiring patron would address a borough prior to an election requesting the nomination of a particular candidate or candidates. If on the other hand, the borough had a recognised

1. Somers Tracts, (1810), IV. 105.

2. N.L.W. Wynn of Gwydir Papers, MS. 9060E. f. 140.

patron who had neglected to inform it of his intentions, it would often defer election until he was consulted. Some boroughs, such as Leicester, had two patrons who shared the nomination. If the borough was completely subservient, a blank indenture of return could be sent to the patron, who would then insert the required name. This practice was sufficiently common for Sir Henry Poole to move in the 1621 parliament that "there might be a proviso that there be no blanks delivered for to be chosen as a burgess, to put in what names they list".¹ We find the Earl of Bridgewater writing to his cousins in preparation for this parliament: "I doe muche desire to have my Cosen William Ravenscroft of the Parliam^{te} house for the Burrough of fflint this nexte Parliament, wch is to beginne the XVIth of January nexte, whereof I intreate your selfe and such as are my friends to take knowledge. I alsoe desire that the Indenture may be sent up to me wth a blancke to the end, that if I provide him a place in the meane time, the Towne maie be furnished with another of my nominacon as sufficient; And if the Burgesses of fflint shalbe curious to send suche a blanck and not be content to repose so muche trust in me therein, then inserte my Cosen William Ravenscroft his name in the Indenture, for my cheefe care is to pleasure him and to see that place be well supplied --".²

The most prominent of all the election patrons at this time - apart from the Duke of Buckingham - was the third Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain. He had been appointed High Steward of the Duchy of Cornwall and Lord Warden of the Stannaries on 28 January 1604 and Lord-Lieutenant of Cornwall in May of the same year.³ On 14 April 1621 he also received the Lord-Lieutenancies

1. Commons' Debates 1621, II. 460.

2. N.L.W., Transcripts of some Gwysaney Letters and Papers, p. 6.

3. D.N.B., IX. 679.

of Somerset and Wiltshire.¹ In addition, he was High Steward of a number of parliamentary boroughs. All this combined to give him extensive electoral sway over many boroughs within his sphere of influence. We can derive some idea of his power from a letter written by Sir Francis Nethersole to Sir Dudley Carleton in April 1625 in response to the latter's request for a seat in parliament: "That my Lord Conway though he be desirerth to pleasure you with a Burgessship, yet gave me small hope of one by his meanes when I spoke with him, but put me off to my Lord Chamberlayn who came from the Noore the last night, and I have beene with him this day. The answer is that he hath two Privy Counsellors newly put upon him, else he could have seated you at the first hand, as he hopes he shall do yet at the second upon some double returne --".² Pembroke was equally active the following year. Sir Benjamin Rudyard reported: "I am not yet certayne that I am of the parliament, haveinge delivered my usuall place of Portsmouth to my brother Harrington [Sir William Harrington] Lieutenant there, whoe desyred it of me soe late, that all my Lordes Letters [Pembroke's] weare sent out before".³ It has been calculated that he returned about a dozen nominees to each of the first three parliaments of Charles I.⁴ In Wiltshire, both as the Lord-Lieutenant of the county and the possessor of vast estates, his power was pronounced. At Shaftesbury, he regularly returned one nominee for the borough - in 1625 and 1628, John Thorowgood, his secretary,⁵ and in 1626, in place of Thorowgood who elected to sit for Derby, Samuel Turner, a personal friend, who was later

1. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, X. 413.

2. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/1/83.

3. Ibid., 16/20/23.

4. V.A. Rowe, 'The Influence of the Earls of Pembroke on Parliamentary Elections, 1625-41'. Eng. Hist. Rev. L. 253.

5. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8, p. 461.

named as one of the executors in Pembroke's will.¹ The third Earl held Downton as a tenant of the Bishop of Winchester.² It is natural therefore that Edward Herbert, a relative and the Earl's personal lawyer,³ should sit for the borough in the first three parliaments of Charles I. In 1625 he had as colleague Sir Clipsie Crew, whom Sir James Bagg later asserted had been placed by Pembroke in the Cornish borough of Callington in 1626.⁴ Corroboratory proof does not exist but the fact that Crew sat for Downton is suggestive. William Trumball, one of the clerks of the Privy Council,⁵ was elected in 1626, and Sir Benjamin Rudyard, a personal friend, almost certainly enjoyed the Earl's support in 1628. Pembroke was also tenant of the manor of Sarum.⁶ Many of the M.P.'s had a personal connection with him; Michael Oldisworth, who sat continuously from 1624-9, was the Earl's secretary,⁷ while Sir John Stradling was a neighbour and tenant in Glamorgan,⁸ and Sir Benjamin Rudyard a friend. Pembroke was also lord of the manor at Wilton.⁹ Here, seats were found for Sir William Herbert, a cousin, Sir Thomas Morgan, Pembroke's steward, and a burgess of the borough,¹⁰ and Sir Thomas Harrington, related by marriage.¹¹ However, Pembroke was not uniformly successful in his attempts to return nominees, and he met with a sharp rebuff at Salisbury in 1626.

1. Eng. Hist. Rev., L. 248.

2. R.C. Hoare, The modern history of South Wiltshire, III. pt.II. 19.

3. Eng. Hist. Rev. L. 244.

4. Notes and Queries, 4th. Ser. X. 325.

5. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1625-6. p. 329.

6. Hoare, op. cit., VI. 574.

7. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1623-5. p. 233.

8. Eng. Hist. Rev. L. 243.

9. Ibid. L. 245.

10. Ibid., L. 243-5.

11. Ibid., L. 244.

The Earl's power was not confined to Wiltshire.¹ He probably used his influence as captain of the Tower and Isle of Portsmouth² to secure Sir Benjamin Rudyard's return for the town in 1625. It has been suggested that Sir Richard Wynn, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber,³ whose father had close associations with the Earl, obtained his election at Ilchester in Somersetshire in 1625 with Pembroke's support.⁴ The Earl was the strongest single electoral force in Wales, although his influence did not extend into the northern half of the Principality.⁵ Both county and borough seats in Montgomeryshire were normally shared among the Herbert clan, who naturally gravitated towards the Earl in parliament.⁶ Pembroke had been appointed constable of Radnor prison in 1616,⁷ and Charles Price, M.P. for Radnor borough from 1621 until 1629, was deputy for the Earl in the stewardship of crown manors in the county.⁸ Cardiff was virtually a pocket borough; the Earl held the lordship of the manor and as constable of the castle appointed the bailiffs, who were the returning officers at elections.⁹ William Price, who sat in 1625 and 1626, administered part of the Earl's Welsh estates,¹⁰ while Lewis Morgan, the 1628 representative, was the eldest son of Pembroke's

1. His intervention in the Duchy of Cornwall elections is discussed in Ch. III below.
2. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, X. 413.
3. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 71.b.
4. A.H.Dodd, 'Welsh Parliamentary Apprenticeship', Trans. Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion (1942), p. 68.
5. Ibid., pp. 69-70. 6. Ibid., p. 70.
7. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1611-18, p. 371.
8. A.H. Dodd, 'Wales in the Parliaments of Charles I'. Trans. Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion (1945), p. 21.
9. Eng. Hist. Rev. L. 245.
10. Trans. Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion (1945), p. 28.

steward.¹ The county M.P's also had close connections with the Earl - Sir Robert Mansell had been associated with him in trying to develop a North West passage,² and Sir John Stradling was a neighbour. However, Pembroke was not always successful in returning his nominees. He was High Steward of four boroughs, Exeter,³ Bristol,⁴ Hereford⁵ and Totnes,⁶ where he was able to exercise no influence in parliamentary elections. At Exeter and Bristol local men were returned, while none of the M.P's of Hereford and Totnes would appear to have any connection with the Earl.

The Earl of Montgomery, Pembroke's brother, was a less influential patron. He was steward of the royal manor and keeper of the house and park at Woodstock.⁷ In 1614 he attempted in vain to return his candidate for the borough,⁸ but he was more successful in 1626 and 1628 for Edmund Taverner, one of Pembroke's secretaries,⁹ was elected. Montgomery, as Lord-Lieutenant of Kent, possessed a certain influence in that county. This was supplemented at Queenborough, where he was constable of the castle.¹⁰ Hence his intervention in the parliamentary election of 1625 when he wrote to the Mayor and jurats on behalf of Robert Pooley, but

1. Williams, The parliamentary history of -- Wales, p. 106.
2. Eng. Hist. Rev. L. 247; Arch. Cambrensis, 4th. Ser. VI. 37.
3. H.M.C., City of Exeter MSS., p. 77.
4. Beaven, op. cit., p. 231.
5. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1619-23, p. 357.
6. H.M.C., 3rd. Rpt., App., p. 347.
7. Eng. Hist. Rev. L. 250.
8. Whitlocke, Liber Famelicus, p. 40.
9. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1629-31, p. 396.
10. Ibid., 1625-6, p. 471.

his nominee was rejected in favour of Sir Edward Hales. Montgomery in a minatory letter to the borough declared: "And assure yourselves since Sir Edward Hales out of respect to mee is content to wave acceptance of that Burgessship w^{ch} yee would enforce upon him, if in his Room you choose not the sayd M^r Pooley for whom you see how much I am engaged, I shall consider it as a neglect and scorne doubled uppon mee, and shall most assuredly therefore whensoever your occasions shall need my furtherance bee found", and signed himself "Yo^r friend according to yo^r behaviour".¹ The choice of Sir Edward must have been confirmed, or else he refused to surrender the burgesship, for the official returns do not indicate Pooley's presence in parliament. The following year, the corporation possibly repentant of its earlier attitude, accepted Pooley as one of its M.P's.² Montgomery was also successful in returning one nominee at Canterbury at this period, primarily because the city wished to obtain his favour.

Another prominent magnate was Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, who was Lord-Lieutenant of Norfolk and joint Lord-Lieutenant of Sussex³ and whose power was derived from the broad family acres in this corner of England. The Earl's influence did not extend to the East Anglian ports⁴ - generally strong in their self-reliance - but was confined to the smaller rural boroughs. At Arundel in Sussex, the parliamentary franchise was vested in all persons paying scot and lot⁵ and the returning officer was the mayor, generally a representative of the lord of the manor,⁶

1. Arch. Cantiana. XXII. 183; Eng. Hist. Rev. L. 245. Miss Rowe wrongly assumes that he was elected.
2. O.R., I. 469.
3. G.E.C., Complete Peerage. I. 255.
4. Cf. H.M.C., 11th. Rep., App., pt. III. 178.
5. M.A. Tierney, The history and antiquities --- of Arundel, p. 710.
6. Ibid. p. 692.

In 1584, on the attainder of Philip, Earl of Arundel, the honour of Arundel had been seized by the crown,¹ but it was restored in 1604.² The Earl, who also owned Arundel Castle,³ was permitted to nominate one M.P. Sir Henry Spiller, returned in 1625, was employed by Arundel on the Buildings Commission and was a son of Robert Spiller, steward of Anne, Lady Arundel,⁴ while the 1628 representative was Henry, Lord Maltravers, the Earl's son. The Arundels had traditionally been High Stewards of Chichester.⁵ The fourteenth Earl had been appointed as such in the charter of 1618.⁶ It is, therefore, natural to find one of the Earl's secretaries, Humphrey Haggett,⁷ as one of the borough M.P's in the first two parliaments of Charles I. Nor was Arundel's influence less potent at Horsham. His steward appointed two bailiffs out of four nominated by the burgesses, who, among other functions, performed those of the returning officer.⁸ Sir John Borough, chosen M.P. in 1625 and 1626, was one of Arundel's secretaries.⁹ The Earl was also lord of the borough of Bramber,¹⁰ and his influence was sufficiently strong to secure

1. J. Dallaway, A history of the western division -- of Sussex, II. pt. I. 89.
2. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1603-10, p. 129.
3. M.F.S. Hervey, Life -- of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, p.172.
4. Ibid.
5. Tierney, op. cit., p. 433.
6. V.C.H., Sussex, III. 99.
7. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8., p. 140.
8. W. Albery, Parliamentary history of the ancient borough of Horsham, p. 5.
9. D.N.B., II. 863.
10. Taffs, op. cit., p. 42.

the return of Arthur Onslow in 1640.¹ It is possible that Sir Sackville Crow, Treasurer of the Navy,² received Arundel's support in 1628, although he did own the neighbouring manor of Muntham.³ At Steyning, although the inhabitants possessed the vote, they were so few that it tended to become a nomination borough.⁴ The Howards, Earls of Arundel, who held much land in the borough, had long attempted to influence parliamentary elections, although not always with complete success. In an undated letter of the 1620's the Earl wrote to the borough: "And although at the summons of the last parliament, these two worthie gentlemen, which by my direction were nominated unto you, were by you rejected, and two other strangers unto you were preferred in your election; yet, being now given to understand that it rather proceeded through ignorance, than neglect towards me, I have thought good now again to recommend unto you, Mr. Philip Maynwaring and Mr. Philip Gardiner Esquires, whom I know to be every way worthie and fit for these places, and for whom I will undertake that they shall not require any parliament wages".⁵ The borough must have again rejected the Earl's nominees for neither was returned. The manor of Christchurch had been sold at the beginning of the century to Arundel.⁶ The nomination of one of the M.P's belonged by ancient right to the lord of the manor.⁷ It is probable that the Earl exercised his privilege, although none of the M.P's at this period possess any ostensible connection with Arundel.

1. H.M.C., 14th. Rep., App., pt. IX. 483.

2. P.R.O., E403/2456. f. 142.

3. Dallaway, op. cit., II. pt. II. 89.

4. T. W. Horsfield, The history, antiquities and topography---
of Sussex. II. app. p. 56.

5. W.D.Cooper, The parliamentary history --- of Sussex, p. 34.

6. V.C.H., Hampshire, V. 92.

7. Ibid., V. 87.

Arundel's influence was not only confined to Sussex. At Thetford in Norfolk, the borough normally elected one of his nominees. Similarly, as lord of the borough of Castle Rising,¹ he was able to intervene effectively in parliamentary elections. In an undated letter, probably written towards the close of 1623, and addressed to the mayor and inhabitants of Castle Rising, the Earl gave thanks that "at the last somons for a Parliamt yo^w did willingly and freely make choyce of R[obert] S[piller] and J[ohn] W[ilson]^q for yo^r Burgesses upon my recommendacon".² Indeed, Arundel's influence in elections was so potent that the Venetian Ambassador could speak of his "followers" in the parliament of 1626.³

The great majority of noblemen exercised a more limited influence. Typical of these was Sir William Knollys, Viscount Wallingford.⁴ He held the office of Constable of Wallingford Castle in Berkshire and was High Steward of the borough.⁵ The right of election at Wallingford lay with the corporate body, who permitted the High Steward to nominate one member.⁶ Thus on 16 January 1621, Samuel Dunche was recommended by Wallingford and accordingly chosen.⁷ In 1628 Sir Robert Knollys was almost certainly Wallingford's nominee. As High Steward of Reading, he was able to intervene effectively in parliamentary elections in the town. In 1624 he approached the corporation requesting the nomination of one member and both if it were possible, naming

1. W. Taylor, The History and Antiquities of Castle Rising, Norfolk, p. 56; F. Blomefield, An essay towards a topographical history-- of Norfolk, IX. 48. Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, held Castle Rising until 1616, when it descended to the Earl of Arundel.
2. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 14/135/42.
3. Cal. S.P. Ven., 1625-6, p. 512.
4. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, I. 400. He was created Earl of Banbury
5. Ibid. on 18 August 1626.
6. J.K. Hedges, The history of Wallingford, II. 199-200.
7. Ibid., II. 200.

Sir Francis Knollys for the prime place and Sir Robert Knollys for the second.¹ In the ensuing election 21 votes were cast for Sir Francis, 16 for John Saunders, 9 for Sir Robert and none for Sir Richard Lydall.² Both in 1625 and the following year Sir Francis was again named by the High Steward and chosen by the corporation.³ In the third parliament of Charles I's reign, the Earl solicited the nomination for Sir John Brooke.⁴ The corporation asked leave to continue in their former representation. As the Earl made no reply, it was assumed that he was satisfied and accordingly, Sir Francis and John Saunders were re-elected. Wallingford was also High Steward of Oxford, and at his instance the town elected Sir John Brooke as one of its parliamentary burgesses in 1625.⁵ However, the corporation records reveal no further evidence of intervention and the town apparently adopted a more independent attitude in succeeding elections with the return of its recorder and deputy-recorder. It is also possible that Wallingford, as Lord-Lieutenant of Berkshire,⁶ may have assisted the return of Sir Robert Knollys at Abingdon in 1625 and 1626.

The Statute of 1430, which enacted that boroughs should choose their members from among their residents, had long fallen into desuetude by 1625. The gentry, whose social and economic importance had been steadily increasing in the sixteenth century, had encroached on the borough seats. Some impetus was probably given to this development by the fact that although the election

1. Records of the Borough of Reading, ed. J.M. Gilling, II. 169.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., II. 230, 270.

4. Ibid., II. 384-5.

5. Oxford Council Acts 1583-1626, p. 297.

6. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, I. 400.

of local burgesses entailed the payment of wages, proving a severe strain on many borough finances, 'foreigners' were prepared to forego payment. At this time payment, although based on statute, had become in many places a voluntary arrangement.¹ This suited both the convenience and pocket of the member, for it enabled the corporation to pay him a wage in excess of the statutory allowance, while it saved him the trouble and expense of obtaining writs de expensis from Chancery. Instead, he merely submitted a bill of his expenses, which was generally paid from corporation funds at the end of each session. Payment by writs, which instructed a borough to make payment, and which involved a tax on the whole community, had ceased to be in common usage by the beginning of the Elizabethan period.²

By 1625 the payment of wages was but a survival of a mediaeval practice, confined to a few wealthy urban constituencies. A limited number of such boroughs paid their members regularly, others intermittently or occasionally only one representative. The vast majority had long ceased to remunerate their members. Towns which paid their M.P's invariably chose local men who could best protect their interests in parliament. The grant of wages was a form of compensation for time and trouble expended in such service and in no way dependent on their parliamentary activity. Pepys, writing in 1668, complained that "the bane of the Parliament hath been the leaving off the old custom of the places allowing wages to those that serve them; by which they chose men that understood their business and would attend to it, and then could expect an account, but now they cannot and so Parliament

1. The minimum rate was 2/- a day for 'burgesses'. Individual towns, however, made supplementary grants. Thus London paid its members for boat hire, and for the cost of livery. R.C.Latham, 'Payment of Parliamentary Wages - the last Phase', Eng. Hist. Rev. LXVI.45.
2. Isolated instances of payment by this method in the seventeenth century can be inferred from the levy of a local tax such as at Hull and Exeter in 1629. Eng. Hist. Rev. LXVI.30.n.6.

is become a company of men unable to give account for the interest of the place they serve for".¹ A parliament which remained in session for any length of time imposed a heavy burden on corporation finances. Thus, when the borough of Calne fell into debt during the 1604-11 parliament, the Burgesses agreed "that everye man witheyn the Burrowe that shall put their Cattle into the Comons this yere shall Dubble their paymente".² Small wonder that many boroughs were compelled to accept the nominees of territorial magnates, although some maintained a show of independence by insisting that such nominees should be made freemen of the borough, either just before or immediately after their election.³

The difficulties confronting a middling sized borough were exemplified in the case of Nottingham. In 1621 the 'select body' agreed to elect two foreigners as M.P's, "for the easing of the town's chardges". Seventeen voted for two foreigners, six for two townsmen and three for one foreigner and one townsman.⁴ Apparently, the result was unsatisfactory, for in 1625 the mayor, aldermen, council and 'clothing' decided to return two townsmen, and "noe other in anie wise".⁵ Accordingly, Robert Greaves, the town clerk⁶ and John Martin were chosen. The following election

1. The Diary of Samuel Pepys, ed. H.B. Wheatley, VII. 358.
2. A.E.W. Marsh, History of the Borough and Town of Calne, p. 92.
3. Thus the corporation of Northampton stipulated in 1620 that Robert Lord Spencer and Thomas Crewe should be sworn freemen before going to parliament. The Records of the Borough of Northampton, ed. J.C. Cox, II. 495.
4. T. Bailey, Annals of Nottinghamshire, II. 600.
5. The Records of the Borough of Nottingham, ed. W.T. Baker, V.102.
6. Bailey, op. cit., II. 591.

there were six suitors - Sir Gervase Clifton, John Byron, Sir Charles Cavendish, Sir George Chaworth, Sir Francis Foljambe and Mr. Lascelles - all of them neighbouring gentry. Clifton and Byron were elected and almost certainly served without payment. In the third election of Charles I's reign, the 'select body' agreed that "two gentlemen of the Countrie shalbe chosen for easinge the townes Chardges",¹ and chose Sir Charles Cavendish and Henry Pierrepont, eldest son of Viscount Newark, whose father, Sir Henry Pierrepont, had been recorder of the borough,² in hope that "the towne-may gayne the frendshipp and favour of these two noble families, and have their assistance too the towne when anie occasion shall be offered".³

Large boroughs, such as London, Bristol, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Exeter, Plymouth, Ipswich and Hull, most of them county boroughs with a long tradition of self-government, generally returned and paid local men, normally either local officials or merchants closely connected with the economic life of the town. Newcastle-on-Tyne continued to pay its members until 1685.⁴ The majority of them belonged to one of three merchant companies - the Merchant Adventurers, Hostmen or Eastland.⁵ Sir Henry Anderson, an M.P. for the town from 1614 until 1626, was a member of the Hostmen company and an alderman and mayor in 1613.⁶ Both Sir Thomas Riddell and his half-brother, Sir Peter, also belonged to the Hostmen company. The former was sheriff in 1601

1. Baker, op. cit., V. 129.

2. Bailey, op. cit., II. 548.

3. Baker, op. cit., V. 129.

4. Reprints of Rare Tracts, ed. M.A. Richardson (1847), III. 57-9.

5. Arch. Aeliana. 4th. Ser. XXIII. 132.

6. Ibid. XXIII. 137.

and mayor in 1604 and 1616,¹ the latter sheriff in 1604, mayor in 1619,² and was appointed Recorder between 1620 and 1624.³

Although the third Earl of Pembroke, one of the most prominent of the borough patrons, was High Steward of Bristol, the city continued to return and pay local representatives. The corporation passed an order on 8 November 1625 enacting that the parliamentary franchise was to be exercised by the mayor, aldermen, common council and freeholders resident within the city.⁴ Twenty-two out of the twenty-seven members, who served during the period 1604-95, received wages; eighteen of these obtained full payment.⁵ In 1625 Nicholas Hyde, recorder of the borough,⁶ and John Whitson, a merchant and twice previously mayor,⁷ were elected and received the usual allowance of four shillings a day,⁸ as did John Doughty and John Barker, the 1628 representatives,⁹ who were also members of the Merchant Adventurers' Company and had previously held mayoral and parliamentary office.¹⁰ By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the electoral practice at Exeter was for the chamber - a body of twenty-four - to recommend two candidates and give them its support, while permitting the

1. Ibid., XXIII. 137-8.

2. Ibid., XXIII. 138.

3. J. Brand, The History --- of Newcastle-on-Tyne, II. 216.

4. City of Bristol MSS., Common Council Proceedings 1608-27. ff. 133b - 134. I am indebted to Mr. R. C. Latham for all the Bristol manuscript references.

5. Eng. Hist. Rev. LXVI 32.

6. A.B. Beaven, Bristol Lists: Municipal and Miscellaneous, p.232.

7. Ibid. p. 313.

8. City of Bristol MSS., Audit Books XIX. 41.

9. Ibid., XIX. 319-20.

10. Beaven, op. cit., pp. 277, 287.

commonalty to nominate others.¹ The normal allowance for parliamentary burgesses was four shillings a day and the financial accounts show that all members between 1604-29 received payment.² In 1625, Nicholas Ducke, the recorder, and Ignatius Jourdain, an alderman, were paid £24. 5. 0 and £24. 1. 0 respectively.³ In February 1626 Jourdain was re-elected, without the consent of the chamber, who accordingly at the close of the parliament passed an order that "by the Auncyent usages of this Cittie such onlie have been elected Cittizens for the Parliamente as have byn thought fitt for that place and have byn presented to the Commons by the consente of the Maior and XXIIII of the Common Counsell of this Cittie, for which cause the chamber here hath contributed to their chardges as in their discessions they have thought fitt".⁴ However, it was agreed to pay Jourdain his wages in recognition of his services during a recent plague, but it was stipulated that the charge of any future member so elected would have to be borne by the Commons.⁵ In 1628, the Chamber selected four candidates - John Lynne, Nicholas Spicer, Nicholas Martyn and Adam Bennett, with the intention that the commonalty should choose two.⁶ Instead, the commonalty elected Jourdain and Lynne,⁷ while the chamber returned Lynne and Martyn, and refused to pay Jourdain's wages out of lands alleged to have been allotted to the City for that purpose.⁸ The House of Commons upheld the

1. J.J. Alexander, 'Exeter Members of Parliament', Part III, 1537-1688, Trans. Devon Assoc. LXI. 194.
2. Eng. Hist. Rev. LXVI 36.
3. J. Oliver, The history of --- Exeter, p. 246.
4. H. Lloyd Parry, The History of Exeter Guildhall and the Life within, p. 128.
5. Ibid.
6. Trans. Devon Assoc. LXI. 202.
7. Ibid., LXI. 211. Lynne had been a sheriff in 1621 and mayor in 1628.
8. C. J. I. 924.

return of Jourdain and Lynne.¹ In January 1629 Jourdain petitioned the House for payment of his wages out of corporation funds.² Although the Commons' Journal gives no further information, it would appear from municipal records that Jourdain made an agreement with the corporation, whereby at least part of his wages was raised by a tax on the commonalty.³

Hull continued to pay its members until the latter half of the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, no financial records exist prior to 1634, but it is possible that local members were paid, the money being raised by a tax known as 'knightpence'.⁴ Local members were invariably returned and indeed in 1626 the corporation resolved to elect only local burgesses.⁵ The previous year John Lister, merchant, and mayor in 1618,⁶ was chosen and had as his colleague Sir Maurice Abbot, prominent in the affairs of the East India Company.⁷ In the following parliament, both members were re-elected, although Sir Maurice chose to sit for London, despite the efforts of his old constituency to retain his services.⁸ In his place, Launcelot Roper, a sheriff in 1612 and mayor in 1619, was elected.⁹ James Watkinson, who sat for the town in the third parliament of Charles I's reign, was also a local burgess and had twice previously held mayoral office.¹⁰

At Ipswich, the franchise was exercised by the resident

1. Ibid., I. 875.
2. Ibid., I. 924.
3. Eng. Hist. Rev. LXVI 44.
4. Ibid., LXVI 39.
5. Ibid., LXVI 42.
6. J.J. Sheahan, History of --- Kingston-upon-Hull (2nd. edit, 1866) p. 298.
7. D.N.B., I. 22.
8. Ibid.
9. Sheahan, op. cit., pp. 298, 305.
10. Ibid.

burgesses, of whom 199 voted in a contested election in 1640.¹ Robert Snellinge and William Cage, local aldermen,² who had sat continuously from 1614, were again chosen in 1625 and 1626. Cage, who was Bailiff six times between 1610 and 1642 and a captain in the Ipswich trained bands,³ was again returned in 1628, while Snellinge, who had died in the interval, was replaced by Edmund Day, a benefactor to the Ipswich public library⁴ and probably a free burgess and resident.⁵ The members were almost certainly paid their wages - in 1632 a belated payment of fourteen pounds was made to Mrs. Snellinge for her husband's attendance in two parliaments.⁶

At Plymouth, of the eleven members who served for the period 1604-59, eight received payment.⁷ John Glanville, the recorder, and Thomas Sherwill, a merchant,⁸ were returned for the first three parliaments of Charles I's reign. The Receiver's Accounts indicate that both were paid. Sherwill was paid regularly at 6s.8d. a day for all three parliaments, while Glanville received a lump sum of £30 for the 1625 parliament and nothing thereafter. He had been voted a lump sum of £20

1. Nathaniel Bacon, Annals of Ipswich, p. 522.

2. O.R., I. 466.

3. B.M., Add. MSS. 25,335. f. 8b.

4. Bacon, op. cit., p. 490. n.'a'.

5. B.M., Add. MSS. 25,335. f. 8b.

6. Bacon, op. cit., p. 501.

7. Eng. Hist. Rev. LXVI. 38. n. 11.

8. R.N. Worth, Calendar of the Plymouth Municipal Records, p. 23.

Sherwill held mayoral office in 1608, 1617 and 1626.

9. City of Plymouth MSS., Widey Court Book, ff.211,216b,219b,222.

I am indebted to Mr. R. C. Latham for these references.

in 1621 which was never paid, and the following year was presented with "a bason and ewer of silver gift" costing £33. 17.3 in recognition of his services.¹ The case of recorders is exceptional. Many did not receive payment, but were compensated by the fees derived from their official work on behalf of the borough in the courts.

London's parliamentary representatives were normally the recorder and either aldermen or members of the common council.² The city paid its representatives a daily subsistence allowance of four shillings each for the aldermen and two shillings each for the burgesses throughout the Tudor and early Stuart period.³ In addition, grants were made for various supplementary items such as livery and boat-hire. The Chamber Accounts are not extant before 1633, but the Repertories of the Court of Aldermen prove that payment was ordered for all four members in 1622 and 1625-6.⁴ As evidence of payment also exists for the Short Parliament,⁵ it is reasonable to assume that payment was made for the parliaments of 1626 and 1628, especially as the city was extremely conservative in its habits.

Although payment of wages is positive evidence of a borough's independence, nevertheless, some of the larger boroughs who normally returned and paid local men, would occasionally consider it advisable to select 'foreigners'. Most boroughs had High Stewards, usually noblemen in favour at Court, who

1. Worth, op. cit., p. 153.

2. Thus, of the 1628 M.P's, Thomas Moulson and Christopher Clitherowe were aldermen, while Henry Waller and James Bunce were a clothworker and leatherseller respectively. A.B.Beaven, The Aldermen of the City of London, temp. Henry III -1912, II. 57, 59.

3. Eng. Hist. Rev. LXVI. 35.

4. Repert., XXXVI. f.103; Ibid, XL. f. 53.

5. Eng. Hist. Rev. LXVI. 35.

could render useful services, as for instance, when a new charter was required. In 1637, Barnstaple appointed a High Steward, because of the heavy burdens laid on the town, "and are yet like to be without remedies, unless we may procure the assistance of some greateman, whoe is powerfull at the Courte and Counsell board".¹ In return for his patronage, the High Steward often expected the right to nominate one burgess to parliament - a demand which many boroughs considered it politic to concede. Several boroughs elected one local representative and one 'foreigner', who might be nominated by the High Steward. In 1601 the corporation of Cambridge had revived an old ordinance that only resident burgesses should represent the town in parliament.² In the 1625 election Thomas Meautys and Talbot Pepys were returned by "the greatest part of the burgesses".³ Pepys had been elected Recorder the previous year on the recommendations of Viscount Mandeville, Lord President of the Council,⁴ and the Duke of Buckingham, who described him as "a Gentleman that hath beene employed in some affayres of myne, of whose integritie and sufficiencie I have had good testimonye".⁵ The following year Pepys was replaced by John Thompson, one of the secretaries of Sir Thomas Coventry, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, who wrote to the corporation on his behalf, promising that Thompson should serve without payment.⁶ The borough acceded to his request, but insisted that Thompson should be sworn a freeman

1. J.R. Chanter and T. Wainwright, Reprint of the Barnstaple Records, I. 102.
2. A. Gray, The town of Cambridge. A History, p. 119.
3. C.H. Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, III. 176.
4. Ibid., III. 169.
5. Ibid., III. 169-70.
6. Ibid., III. 183.

prior to his election.¹ In 1628, Coventry, who in the interval between the two parliaments had become High Steward of the town, again successfully recommended Thomas Meautys,² one of the clerks of the Privy Council.³ His colleague was Thomas Purchas, a local alderman, who received £21. 8. 0 for his expenses, at the rate of four shillings a day.⁴ He was paid twice the statutory allowance, which suggests that poverty was not the fundamental reason for the election of 'foreigners'. This conclusion is confirmed when we recall that the corporation continued to pay some of its members until 1660.⁵

At Barnstaple, where the parliamentary franchise was exercised by the free burgesses,⁶ John Delbridge and Pentecost Dodderidge, both merchants of the town,⁷ were elected in 1625. It is probable that they were paid for their services - in 1614 Delbridge received £5 for his expenses⁸ and the financial records denote a payment of £1.7.0 in 1628,⁹ while the two representatives in the Short Parliament obtained £37. 0. 10 and £37. 2. 6. respectively.¹⁰ In 1626, Dodderidge was replaced by Sir Anthony St. John, the third son of the third Baron St. John. He was almost certainly returned through the agency of the fourth Earl of Bath, who had married his sister.¹¹ The third Earl had

1. Ibid., III. 183-4.

2. Ibid., III. 200.

3. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1623-5, p. 163.

4. Cooper, op. cit., III. 206, 208.

5. Ibid., III. 493.

6. J.B. Gribble, Memorials of Barnstaple, p. 244.⁴ Both had previously been mayors. Gribble, op. cit., p. 202.

7. O.R., I. 463.

8. Ibid. p. 226.

9. Chanter and Wainwright, op. cit., II. 103.

10. Ibid.

11. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, II. 18.

been recorder of the borough and had successfully intervened in the parliamentary elections of 1597 and 1601.¹ His son maintained the close connection with the town and the municipal accounts record the payment in 1624 of a New Year's present costing £5.5.8.²

Similarly, Yarmouth and King's Lynn, both 'independent' boroughs, occasionally accepted the nominee of a patron. In 1624, Sir John Suckling had written to the corporation of Great Yarmouth offering to supply a burgess's place in parliament free of charge. The Bailiffs replied that they could choose only "free burgesses and residents within the towne".³ The M.P.'s in this parliament received 6s.8d. a day while they were in London and 10s.0d. a day for travelling expenses.⁴ In 1625 it was resolved that in future burgesses could be elected for the parliament "either out of or in the town".⁵ Accordingly, many of the local gentry wrote to the corporation, soliciting a seat. In the election, Sir John Corbett of Sprowston and Edward Owner, a local alderman, received the greatest number of votes and consequently were returned.⁶ The following year, Sir John Corbett was elected without opposition, and Thomas Johnson, an alderman and merchant, was at the head of the poll for second place.⁷ In 1628, Sir John Wentworth, who had been a gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Henry, Prince of Wales,⁸ was returned - possibly on the nomination of the Earl of Marlborough, the Lord High Treasurer and the town's High Steward. His colleague was Miles

1. Gribble, op. cit., pp. 226-8.

2. Chanter and Wainwright, op. cit., II. 123.

3. C.J. Palmer, Contin., Manship's Hist. of Gt. Yarmouth, p. 203.

The Bishop of Norwich was similarly unsuccessful. Ibid., p. 202.

4. B.M., Add. MSS. 23,012. f. 102.b.

5. Palmer, op. cit., p. 204.

6. B.M., Add. MSS. 23, 012. f. 103.b.

7. Ibid., f. 105.b.

8. B.M., Harleian MSS. 642. f. 253.

Corbett, the recorder, who may have received payment for in the Long Parliament he was voted £30 "for his attendance and towards his charges".¹ At King's Lynn, Thomas Gurlyn and John Cooke, both aldermen, were elected burgesses of parliament for the town in 1625 and 1626 and were paid 5/- a day² - a generous allowance, although the port had granted its members 10/- in 1621.³ In the third parliament of the reign, Sir John Hare of Stow Bardolph in Norfolk,⁴ and William Doughty, one of the aldermen, were returned. Hare may have secured his election through the influence of the Lord Keeper, whose daughter he had married.⁵ He was admitted a freeman of the town after the election,⁶ but there is no evidence to suggest that he was paid for his services. He probably surrendered his office in 1628, as the municipal records of 22 January 1629 indicate the election of John Wallace and William Doughty as parliamentary burgesses, and also record a memorandum of an agreement to pay them five shillings each a day as their wages.⁷

Evidence of the survival of the payment of wages during the period 1625-8 also exists for Shrewsbury, Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, and York. Except for York, this is probably the last occasion on which these boroughs granted their members allowances. At Shrewsbury, where the franchise was exercised

1. Palmer, op. cit., p. 207.
2. H.M.C., 11th. Rep., App., pt. III. 177.
3. Ibid.
4. Blomefield, op. cit., VII. 442.
5. Ibid. The Lord Keeper had resided in King's Lynn the previous year. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8. p. 65.
6. A Calendar of the Freemen of Lynn 1292-1836, p. 147.
7. H.M.C., 11th. Rep., App., pt. III. 177.

by the resident freeman,¹ it had been resolved in an ordinance of 1603 that the future election of burgesses of parliament should be confined to such "as shall then be inhabiting within this town or suburbs, being burgesses of the town, and known to be men fearing God, of sound religion, lovers of the estate of this town, and able to speak in place as occasion may require."²

Although this order had been immediately flouted in an ensuing election,³ the borough had re-asserted its independence by the commencement of Charles I's reign. Sir William Owen and Thomas Owen were returned for the first three parliaments of this monarch. Sir William was a citizen of Shrewsbury and one of the two Bailiffs in 1621,⁴ while the latter was town clerk.⁵ Thomas was recompensed for his services for the last session of the 1628-9 parliament, being paid £13.6.8d. for his attendance and travelling expenses.⁶ At Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, the corporation decided in 1625 that only one burgess should be sent to Parliament⁷ - a resolution which must have been rescinded, as the Official Returns give the full quota of M.P's. It is difficult to conceive an adequate explanation. Possibly, it was in response to pressure. Poverty is not the explanation for shortly afterwards it was agreed to pay each of the parliamentary burgesses

1. Taffs, op. cit., p. 262.

2. 'Orders of the Corporation of Shrewsbury 1511-1735', Trans. Shrops. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc., 1st. Ser. XI. 165.

3. Neale, op.cit., p. 170.

4. H. Owen and J.B. Blakeway, A History of Shrewsbury, I. 533.

5. H.M.C., 15th. Rep., App., pt. X. 63.

6. Edward Edwards, Parliamentary Elections of the Borough of Shrewsbury from 1283 to 1859, p. 10.

7. H.J. Moule, Descriptive Catalogue of the -- Documents of -- Weymouth and Melcombe Regis 1252-1800, p. 110.

2/6d. a day.¹ Possibly the boroughs considered that one member could adequately represent their interests. York, however, normally paid its members 4/- a day, counting six days for each journey.² Although payment was general in the sixteenth century, it was most irregular in the early Stuart period. The borough financial accounts reveal that Thomas Hoyle, an alderman, obtained payment between 1625 and 1628 at his own request,³ while Christopher Brooke, a member of the Council of the North,⁴ who served continuously from 1604 until 1626, gave his services after 1614 either free or for a reduced rate.⁵ There is a strong probability that Devizes and Worcester paid some of their members at this time. The former borough compensated John Kent, the town clerk, for his attendance in the parliament of 1621,⁶ and again in 1641 we find evidence of payment.⁷ This suggests that the 1625 and 1628 representatives - both local burgesses - received an allowance. Worcester paid its members a fixed rate of 4/- a day in the reign of Elizabeth.⁸ By 1621 the allowance had decreased to 2s.6d. a day - half of which was contributed by the chamber and the other half by the Commons.⁹ John Couchner, an alderman, and one of the 1621 members was again returned in 1628. It is

1. Ibid.

2. Eng. Hist. Rev. LXVI. 37.

3. Ibid., LXVI. 38.

4. Reid, op. cit., app. II. 498.

5. Eng. Hist. Rev. LXVI. 38.

6. B.H. Cunningham, Some Annals of --- Devizes. 1555-1791, pt. II. 67.

7. Ibid., pt. II. 98.

8. J. Noake, Worcester in Olden Times, p. 143. The town's representatives received an additional 12d. for a man or servant.

9. V. Green, The History and Antiquities --- of Worcester, II. 36.n.1.

possible that both he and his colleague, John Haselock,¹ a local burgess, were paid.

Wages were only a form of compensation for expenses entailed, which could be considerable.² However, there were a group of flourishing urban constituencies, which with occasional lapses, returned local men, many of whom undoubtedly served *ex gratia*. It is not known whether these boroughs recompensed their representatives, and an exhaustive search through local archives would be necessary to ascertain this information. The larger ports, with their strong mercantile interest, were often able to resist encroachment. Thus all the members save one elected for Dartmouth in James I's reign were merchants of the ports.³ In 1621 £5 was voted for parliamentary expenses of which half was to come from the town funds and half was to be levied on the inhabitants.⁴ The town was sufficiently independent to reject an attempt by the Earl of Northampton to nominate one member in 1614,⁵ and in 1628 similarly refused the Lord President, who had recommended his servant, Robert Dickson. The corporation replied that they had "acquainted the commons, who have their free voices in the elections as well as we, with the contents of the letter, who, presuming upon their freedom in choosing whom they thought fit, had elected, or would elect, men free of the corporation, well known to them".⁶ Instead,

1. Haselock was appointed one of the two Chamberlains of the town in the charter of 1621. *Ibid.*, II. 36.
2. *Strafforde's Letters and Despatches*, I. 34. Sir John Jackson, writing to Sir Thomas Wentworth, confessed his doubts about standing for Pontefract in 1626: "I had a long Conflict with myself before I could resolve to stand, yet not so much out of Fear of the Grandees Opposition, as in Favour of my own Purse".
3. J.J. Alexander, 'Dartmouth as a Parliamentary Borough', *Trans. Devon Assoc.* XLIII. 351.
4. *Ibid.*, XLIII. 352.
5. H.A. Merewether and A.J. Stephens, *History of the Boroughs --- of the United Kingdom*. II. 982.
6. *Ibid.*

Roger Mathew, a merchant of Dartmouth,¹ and John Upton of Lupton,² a neighbouring landlord, who probably had a close connection with the borough, were again chosen.

At Southampton, honorary burgesses, mostly country gentlemen, had a right to vote in the parliamentary elections,³ although they probably did not avail themselves of the privilege. In 1625 the corporation decided to select only inhabitants;⁴ consequently, Sir John Mill, who possessed a house in the town and was almost certainly a burgess,⁵ was returned for this and the subsequent parliament together with George Gollopp, a local alderman.⁶ Sir John, as Sheriff of Hampshire,⁷ was ineligible for election to the third parliament of the reign. In spite of Conway's attempts to return Sir Francis Annesley,⁸ the corporation chose another local alderman, and twice previously mayor, John Mayor.⁹

In addition to the Maritime boroughs of Dartmouth and Southampton, several of the more prosperous towns were able to elect local burgesses.¹⁰ In the north, Chester often displayed

1. Trans. Devon Assoc. XLIII. 351.

2. Ibid., XLIII. 352.

3. J.S. Davies, A History of Southampton, p. 197.

4. Ibid., p. 199. n. '1'

5. Ibid., p. 484.

6. Ibid., p. 178. Gollopp had been mayor in 1621.

7. P.R.O., Lists and Indexes. IX. 56.

8. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8., p. 540. Conway expressed surprise at the corporation's refusal to return Annesley, in view of Conway's past favours. Ibid., 1627-8. p. 577.

9. Davies, op. cit., pp. 177-8.

10. Chester, Dorchester, Salisbury, Norwich, Gloucester, Ludlow and Oxford. The representation of five of these boroughs is examined in detail.

an independent spirit. Thus in 1604, the corporation refused to accept the King's nominee as recorder¹ and in 1621 declined the request of the President of the Council of Wales to appoint a member of parliament.² It is probable that another unsuccessful attempt to determine the course of an election was made in 1640 - on this occasion by the crown.³ It is not surprising that the town's representatives in the early parliaments of Charles I's reign had strong local connections. The recorder, Edward Whitby,⁴ sat continuously from 1614 until 1629, while his colleague in 1625 was John Savage of Rock Savage in Cheshire, whose grandfather had been mayor in 1607.⁵ In the following parliament he was replaced by a local alderman, William Gamul,⁶ who was summoned before the Privy Council in 1627 for using defamatory language to the mayor.⁷ Probably in consequence, he was superseded in 1628 as parliamentary burgess by John Ratcliffe, an alderman and former mayor.⁸

In the south, Salisbury was equally independent. The corporation passed an ordinance on 25 April 1625 to the effect that all future parliamentary burgesses "at the time of their election shall be free citizens of the town council of this city, and then residing there, upon pain of disfranchisement for any man that shall give his voice for any other".⁹ In accordance with this resolution, Henry Sherfield, the recorder, and Walter Longe, a common councilman of the city,¹⁰ were returned to

1. G.L. Fenwick, A History of the Ancient City of Chester, p. 180.

2. R.H. Clive, -- History of Ludlow and the Lords Marchers, p.181.

3. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/450/15.

4. Ormerod, op. cit., I. pt. 1. 221.

5. Ibid., I. pt. 11. 716.

6. Gamul was chosen mayor in 1608 and 1620. Fenwick, op. cit., p. 535.

7. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8., p. 420.

8. Fenwick, op. cit., p. 535.

9. Hoare, op. cit., VI. 340.

10. O.R., I. 466.

parliament in the next election. The following year, both the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord-Lieutenant of the county and city, and Sir Robert Heath, the Attorney-General, unsuccessfully addressed letters to the corporation requesting the nomination of one member. The corporation, in their reply to Sir Robert, declared that they could not violate the ordinance that all parliamentary burgesses should be resident within the city and continued "we having been now much oppressed with the number of poor in our city --- are now at the least 2,700; and having, in hope to relieve them, brought our chamber far in debt, by erecting a common brewhouse for their relief, without the property whereof our city cannot subsist; and finding, that by some of the brewers, and some others of our city, there is much endeavour to overthrow it, and having resolved to get an Act in the Parliament, as necessary, as well for the confirmation thereof, as of other provisions of great importance to our city, which it were impossible to accomplish by strangers, we have been enforced to send two of our own company to this Parliament".¹ In 1628 the city continued to send local men, returning Sherfielde, described as "a violent Recorder of Salisbury, who had been active against the Duke in Parliament",² and Bartholomew Tookie, an alderman and common councilman.³ Dorchester, where the franchise lay with the freemen,⁴ was occasionally amenable to pressure, although when the Earl of Suffolk requested a seat in the elections to the Short Parliament he was told that "none can bee chosen a Burgesse for a Parliament for us, but one that shall bee a free Burgesse of the Borough".⁵ In 1625, the recorder, Sir Francis Ashley, was returned. He

1. Hoare, op. cit., VI. 348-9.

2. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8., p. 73.

3. O.R., I. 478.

4. Taffs, op. cit., p. 92.

5. C.H. Mayo and A.W. Gould, The Municipal Records --- of Dorchester, p. 435.

appears to have exercised a predominant influence in the town, for in 1621 the burgesses agreed on his supplication to exchange his name as member for parliament for that of Sir Thomas Edmondess, Treasurer of His Majesty's Household.¹ William Whiteway, senior, a merchant of the town and one of the fifteen capital burgesses named in the charter of 1610,² was also chosen. The following year, Whiteway was again elected, with Richard Bushrode, one of the bailiffs in 1617 and 1621,³ as his partner. On Whiteway's decease, Michael Humfry of Chaldon in Dorsetshire⁴ was returned, possibly on the Earl of Suffolk's recommendation. As Lord-Lieutenant of the county he would have a certain influence and he had been associated with Humfry in a grant of the manors of Buckland and Catstock from the crown.⁵ In 1628 Denzil Holles and John Hill were returned. Holles, the second son of the Earl of Clare, had on 4 June 1626 married Dorothy, the only daughter of Sir Francis Ashley,⁶ and undoubtedly secured his election through his father-in-law's influence. He was admitted a freeman of the borough after his election.⁷ John Hill was one of the capital burgesses of Dorchester and had been elected bailiff in 1624.⁸

In the east, Norwich was one of the most important cities in the kingdom. References to payment of wages are rare in the scanty city records of this period, but it is possible that

1. J. Hutchins, The History and Antiquities of the county of Dorset, II. 356.
2. Mayo and Gould, op. cit., p. 41. Whiteway was chosen bailiff in 1611, 1620 and 1625. Hutchins, op. cit., II. 352.
3. Ibid.
4. Visitation of Dorsetshire -- [in] 1623, (Harleian Soc. Pub., vol. XX), p. 57.
5. Hutchins, op. cit., IV. 306.
6. G.E.C., Complete Peerage, VI. 546.
7. Mayo and Gould, op. cit., p. 395.
8. Ibid., p. 57.

its M.P.'s were remunerated. Certainly Alderman Harman received two allowances of £50 each in 1643 and 1646 for his services in the Long Parliament.¹ All the representatives at this time had strong connections with the city. Sir Thomas Hyrne, who sat for the town in 1614 and continuously from 1624 until 1626, had thrice previously been mayor,² while Sir Peter Gleane and Robert Debney, the 1628 representatives, had previously held mayoral office in 1615 and 1624 respectively.³ William Denny of Norwich, the town's steward,⁴ sat regularly from 1621 until 1625, while Sir John Suckling, Comptroller of the Royal Household, elected in 1626, was a freeman of the city and son of Alderman Robert Suckling, a former mayor.⁵

Gloucester, in the west, was equally strong in its self-reliance, and there is no evidence to suggest that the High Steward, Sir Edward Coke,⁶ made any attempt to intervene in the elections. Christopher Caple, one of the representatives in 1625 and 1626, was a native of the town and had been mayor in 1598 and 1619,⁷ while John Browne, his colleague, was a brewer who had twice previously been mayor.⁸ John Hanbury, the 1628 representative, was a citizen of London, who had married Alderman Caple's daughter and was admitted a burgess of the corporation on 17 August 1627.⁹

Several of the more independent boroughs chose their recorder or deputy-recorder as one of their representatives.

1. Eng. Hist. Rev. LXVI. 37.
2. Norfolk Official Lists (ed. Hamon Le Strange), pp. 110-1.
3. Ibid., p. 111.
4. Genealogist, New Ser., XXXVIII. 26.
5. P. Millican, The Register of the Freemen of Norwich, p. 209.
6. S. Rudder, A New History of Gloucestershire --, p. 117.
7. T. Rudge, The history and antiquities of Gloucester ---, p. 148.
8. Ibid., p. 75. Browne was chosen mayor in 1610 and 1621.
9. Trans. of Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc. XXX, 94.

His technical knowledge was invaluable in promoting local bills in parliament, and in advising on innumerable matters connected with municipal administration. The writer of a mid-seventeenth century tract complained that "the Recorder of every borough will of course look to be chosen, as being the mouth of his corporation; but it is a custom not fit for the necessity of these times: Our affairs require rather statesmen than lawyers".¹ An analysis of the 1625 election returns show that twenty-two members holding legal positions in their constituencies were elected² - in the majority of instances by wealthy towns, who had business to transact in parliament.³ In some boroughs, such as Shrewsbury and Wallingford, the recorder claimed a seat at Westminster by virtue of his office.⁴ In others, such as Northampton, it was the normal custom to elect the recorder.⁵ Richard Taylor, the deputy-recorder of Bedford, at an assembly held for choosing the town's M.P's, declared: "I conceived it a right, or at least an inseparable curtesy to y^e place I hold to be on of your burgesses. I know not of any presedent in y^e tyme of y^e memory of any man when y^e Recorder of this corporation hath been passed by without his own consent. I know y^e state

1. Somers Tracts (1811), V. 66.
2. Vide. Appendix III below.
3. The recorder was occasionally given a gift as a reward for his services. Thus on 4 October 1626 the council of Rochester ordered that a piece of plate should be bought and given to the recorder "for his pains about the King's business in Parliament". F.F. Smith, A history of Rochester, p. 259.
4. H.M.C., 15th. Rpt., App., X.13; Hedges, op. cit., II. 200.
5. V.C.H., Northamptonshire. III. 17.

of y^e town. I know y^e councill of y^e town. I am not conscious to my self of any disservice I have [done] hitherto and am now willing to serve you freely wich is y^e reason I have not been a suitor to you".¹

The payment of wages was not the only bond between a member and his constituency. A further link is to be discovered in the steady development and extension during the seventeenth century of the use of instructions by constituencies to its members. The grant of wages was in no way dependent on the fulfillment of such instructions, and boroughs, such as Berwick, which made no payment issued instructions. The practice was of long standing usage² and its ancestry can be traced to the mediaeval petition. The M.P. at this time was primarily considered a local representative sent to Westminster to interpret and defend local interests. Consequently, the instructions during the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth century are always of a local nature, concerned either with the rectification of abuses or the promotion of bills for the borough's prosperity. A typical sample are those given to the York parliamentary representatives on 16 February 1553: "Fyrst to gett it enactyd at the Parliament that such a large place within this Citie shold be appoynted for serche and sale of cloth, wolle and

1. Bedford Corporation MS. It has not been catalogued. I am indebted to Mr. D.G. Gilmore for the transcript. It has been partly printed in G.D. Gilmore, 'The papers of Richard Taylor of Clapham' c1579-1641, Bedfordshire Hist. Rec. Soc. XXV. 105.
2. At Norwich, an assembly was held on 2 October 1377 and "4 Bailiffs and 13 citizens named were elected to consult with Walter de Bixton and Peter de Alderford [the recently appointed M.P's] -- concerning matters touching the Community". W. Hudson and J.C. Tingey, The records of the city of Norwich. I. 271.

leather of the contey, as one within the Citie of London called Blakwych Hall -- Item that no kynd of wollen cloth, blewe ne redde colores, be made in towne or village frome Trent northwards but only in the Citie of Yorke".¹ A thorough examination of municipal archives would probably reveal a considerable increase in the use of instructions in the latter half of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth century. Several examples have been discovered during the period 1625-9 and it is possible that the practice was fairly widespread by this time. Thus in 1625 a committee of fifteen was appointed at Great Yarmouth to give instructions to the newly elected M.P's on matters concerning the town.² Again at Berwick-on-Tweed in 1628 the Guild drew up a series of provisions to be observed by their representatives: "(1) Gitt your appearance recorded. (2) It will not be amiss to make your acquaintance with the Speaker and with the Clerk of the Parliament House. (3) Then not only to be acquainted, but also associate yourselves with the burgesses of other burghs, and to have often mutual conference with them, or as many of them as conveniently can, about the Bills preferred; and whether the passing of any Bill may be prejudiciall to this burgh or not, as if any Bill preferred to be read any staple warre, as well skinnes as wol fells, hides or like to be prohibited to be transported (4) or the transporting of white clouths out of this country be forbidden (5) or any tenths, subsidies or fifteenths granted (6) or privy seals, or any other things in your judgements that may be prejudiciall to the good of this place against our ancient liberties, that you speak yourselves, and

1. York Civic Records, ed. A. Raine, (Yorks. Arch. Soc. Record Series), V. 87.
 2. B.M., Add. MSS. 23, 012. f. 103b.

procure other burgesses to speak, for a proviso for this place, as ever hath been accustomed, requesting their kindness with a like return on any their like occasions".¹ At Bristol, it was resolved on 13 March 1626 that the M.P.'s should undertake negotiations for the purchase of the castle from the King, and also obey instructions which would be forwarded later.² Similarly, the city of London issued instructions to its representatives in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Thus on 7 February 1626, the Court of Aldermen appointed a committee to consider with the newly chosen M.P.'s what measures should be propounded in the forthcoming parliament "as well concerninge the monyes disbursed by the Cittie aboute leveye of the souldiers as any other businesse whatsoever that doth or maye concerne this Cittye or otherwise".³ It would appear that this was a standing committee, meeting at intervals throughout the parliamentary session.⁴ James Howell, writing in 1628 to the corporation of Richmond discusses the function of a representative: "I shall steer by his /his colleague, Sir Talbot Bowes/ compass and follow his directions in anything that may concern the welfare of your town and the precincts thereof, either for the redress of any grievance or by proposing some new thing that may conduce to the further benefit and advantage thereof; And this I take to be the true duty of a Parliamentary burgess, without roving at random to generals. I hope to learn of Sir Talbot what's fitting to be done, and I shall apply myself accordingly to join with him to serve you with my best abilities".⁵

1. John Scott, Berwick-upon-Tweed. The history of the town and guild. p. 474.
2. City of Bristol, Common Council Proc., 1608-27, f. 137.
3. City of London, Repert., XL. ff. 94-5.
4. Ibid., f. 134.
5. Clarkson, op. cit., app., p. 49.

The conception of the nature of an M.P. was changing at this time, so that by the latter half of the seventeenth century Edward Chamberlayne could write: "That although every Member of the Commons House be chosen to serve for one particular County, City or Burrough, yet he serves for the whole Kingdom, and his Voice equal to any other, his Power absolute to consent or dissent, without ever acquainting those that sent him, or demanding their Assent". He continues: "Yet are they to make it their special, to promote the good of that County, City or Burrough, for which they served, and from which heretofore they usually did receive Instructions and Directions concerning their Grievances, Wants, etc.". ¹ Concurrently with this conception of an M.P. as being primarily a representative of the community, we find the development of general instructions - that is, specific instructions on questions of national interest - as national issues became more and more compelling. There are traces of it in the 1628 Berwick instructions. It is possible that these general instructions originated from the counties rather than the boroughs, for knights of the shire represented both a larger electorate and a wider range of interests. ² In 1660, a contemporary broadsheet was advocating that all members were

1. E. Chamberlayne, Angliae Notitia (1679). pt. II. 55.

2. Sir John Colepepper, one of the knights for Kent, spoke in the Long Parliament: "Mr. Speaker, I stand not up with a petition in my hand. I have it in my mouth; and have it in charge from them that sent me hither, humbly to present to the corporation of this house the Grievances of the county of Kent -- (1) The great increase of Papists - (2) The obtruding and countenancing of divers new ceremonies in matters of religion - (3) Military charges -- (4) The Canons -- (5) Ship Money-- (6) The great Decay of Cloathing and Fall of our Wools -- (7) The monopolers and polers of the people." (W. Cobbett, Parliamentary History,) II. 655.

"obliged in point of duty and conscience", as "publick servants and proxies vigorously to pursue all such just prescriptions for the common welfare and establishment of our native country" as the electors "shall present to them".¹ By 1681 the M.P. was considered primarily a delegate, rather than a free agent.² Both Whig and Tory constituencies in this year issued a spate of instructions on general politics,³ which were intended to control both the member and parliament, and compel them to pursue a definite line of action. A further extension occurred when instructions were issued while parliament was in session. Examples of this practice can be found in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,⁴ but it is not until the eighteenth century that it assumes a new significance, for whereas the earlier instructions were really only messages appertaining to local affairs, the latter tended to debase the status of an M.P.

Instructions were normally confined to boroughs which exercised a certain measure of control over their representatives. It must be remembered, however, that this did not apply to the vast majority of boroughs at this period, which were effectively dominated by local landlords and magnates. Borough elections were in essence a reflection of the existing social pattern.

Primarily for reasons of social prestige, although this particularly applied to the county seats, a place in the House of Commons was becoming increasingly attractive for the local gentry. This was reflected in the growing number of contested

1. C.S. Emden, The people and the constitution, pp. 14-15.
2. E. Lipson, 'The elections to the Exclusion Parliaments, 1679-1681,' Eng. Hist. Rev., XXVIII. 68.
3. Emden, op. cit., p. 16.
4. York Civic Records, VII. 115-6.

elections. Nevertheless, the overwhelming mass of elections in the first three parliaments of Charles I were resolved without issue at the polls. This was quite natural for so many boroughs lay in the shadow of a powerful patron or patrons, and here an aspiring candidate would probably attach himself to the circle of a particular lord, instead of applying directly to the borough. Even in the more independent boroughs, where there were several claimants for the honour, the electors, particularly if they consisted of the governing body of the town, could decide without the formality of an election. Thus at Scarborough, Johna Bailey, a local landlord, addressed the mayor in 1625 requesting him to elect Sir Clifford Slingsby, "controller of his majestie's shippes", as one of the borough's M.P's.¹ This was followed by a letter from the Earl of Holderness, who held the castle of Scarborough, asking leave to nominate William Thompson.² A few days later, Sir Francis Gargrave wrote to the corporation to give them notice that Lord Sheffield, whom the Bailiffs described as "our L'd P'tector in all o^r lawful causes", intended claiming a seat, when he had received definite confirmation of the summoning of parliament.³ Apparently Sheffield's intelligence was faulty, for several weeks later we find Gargrave writing: "I maye nottpresume too muche of your kinde respecte all readye showed unto me in defferynge your election; and to intreat a further delay thereof, nor doe I desire it; yet I have thought best to imparte so muche as I know concernynge this intention and mocion w'ch was propounded unto you; and that I doe well know that it was Sir Edward Waterhouse w'ch des'red upon my lorde's commendacion to be one of your burgesses".⁴ Among additional suitors were Lord Scrope,

1. J.B. Baker, The History of Scarborough, p. 224.

2. Ibid. pp. 224-5.

3. Ibid. p. 225.

4. Ibid. p. 226.

President of the Council in the North, Richard Danby, esquire, William Bailey of Brompton, Mr. Clifford of Slingsby, Mr. Darby, Sir Richard Cholmley and Mr. C. Hutchinson. Amidst this plethora of candidates, the corporation chose Hugh Cholmley of Whitby and William Thompson - the Earl of Holderness' nominee - apparently, if the silence of the corporation records is to be trusted, without a formal contest.

Resort to violence and undue pressure at elections is occasionally to be found. Thus it was claimed in the 1626 election that Sir Thomas Canon had intercepted the writ for electing burgesses for Haverfordwest and had concealed the same from the sheriff¹ - a device sometimes practised in county elections. In the election at Chichester in the same year there was 'indirect caryage and fraudulent speeches',² while at Bridport in Dorsetshire a petition by Sir Richard Strode was exhibited against Sir Lewis Dyve for giving a reward to the borough for his election.³ Possibly this referred to the silver salt cellar which Sir Lewis bestowed on the corporation after his election.⁴ Apparently, the evidence was insufficient for the House of Commons closed the incident.⁵ A year later, Sir Richard wrote to Sir John Coke: "I am hated by S^r John Strangeways and his side great in this county [Dorset] for that I complained and did discover in the last Parliament their foul corruption in buying of burgess-ships".⁶ It is possible to give a more

1. Trans. Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion (1945), p. 24.

2. A.P.C., 1626, p. 256.

3. C.J. I. 822.

4. Hutchins, op. cit., II. 12.

5. C. J. I. 822.

6. H.M.C., 12th. Rpt., App., pt. I. 305.

detailed picture of election irregularities in several boroughs,¹ where the meagre reports of the printed Commons' Journal are supplemented by private diaries and news-letters.

At Lewes, where the franchise lay with the inhabitants,² Sir George Goring, a prominent local landlord,³ was chosen unopposed for the first place in 1628. However, there was a contest between Sir George Rivers and Anthony Staplie for the second seat. Staplie, who lived at Framfield, about nine miles from Lewes,⁴ had married Goring's sister⁵ and was thereby assured of his assistance. Rivers also possessed the support of a powerful patron⁶ - the Earl of Dorset, who had been granted a quarter of the Barony of Lewes.⁷ As the election by 'voices' indicated an approximate equality, a poll was demanded. A neighbouring minister was co-opted to count Rivers' supporters. When he had numbered twenty, the constable relieved him and completed the count - in all, 61 voted for Rivers, although it was claimed that there were a further 17 or 20, who refused to be polled, but instead numbered themselves. On the other hand

1. At Lewes, Taunton, York and Canterbury. Evidence of bribery is also to be found at Wallingford and Droitwich. In the former borough Unton Croke complained in 1626 that Sir Thomas Horwood had reviled him by stating that he came to be elected by bribery and corruption. H.M.C., 13th. Rpt., App., VII. 8. In 1628 a complaint was made against Mr. Wylde concerning an unfit letter that he had written concerning the election of the borough of Droitwich. C.J. I. 879.

2. Taffs, op. cit., p. 153.

3. V.C.H., Sussex. VII. 31.

4. Horsfield, op. cit., II. 102.

5. Ibid., II. 108.

6. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1628-9. p. 586.

7. V.C.H., Sussex. VII. 7.

Staplie polled 69 voters. Furthermore, he claimed that the opposition had declared that he did not intend standing and that some of his supporters had been threatened with the billeting of soldiers. Finally, it was objected that twenty of Rivers' votes had been recorded by someone unqualified for the task.¹ Staplie's protest was upheld by the House of Commons.²

Two of the magistrates of Taunton complained to the House of Commons in 1628 that Sir John Stawell, a deputy-lieutenant of Somerset, who lived at Cothelston Lodge, near Taunton,³ was offended because most of the inhabitants of the town were prepared to give him only one voice for the election of the Knights of the Shire, and reserved the other for Sir Robert Phelips.⁴ Accordingly, a month after the election he and William Walron, another deputy-lieutenant, removed twelve soldiers, who had been satisfactorily billeted in Inns, and placed them on the mayor and other prominent local officials, including George Browne, the recorder and one of the town's M.P's. It was contended that they threatened to bring in the whole regiment and refused to give satisfaction. In his defence Stawell claimed that he had received instructions from the Lords of the Council to give the soldiers better accomodation, and that he came to the town to help the mayor place the soldiers. The House of Commons found the charges not substantiated.⁵

At York there were four candidates in the parliamentary

1. B.M., Harleian MSS. 2313. ff. 8b-9; B.M., Add. MSS. 36,825. ff. 322-3; C.J. I. 877-8.
2. C.J. I. 878.
3. Harbin, op. cit., p. 142.
4. C.J. I. 886.
5. B.M., Add. MSS. 36, 825. ff.322-3; C.J. I. 886,898. Diary of Walter Young, ed. G.Roberts (Camden Soc. Pub., vol.XLI),p.115.

election of 1628 - Sir Arthur Ingram, Sir John Savile, Aldermen Hoyle and Robinson. It was generally agreed that Sir Arthur was well elected for the first seat, but the second place was disputed. The electors met at the Sheriff's Court about seven o'clock. Savile asserted that after the writ was read only his name and Ingram's were called. The electors made three or four shouts and accordingly Sheriff Thompson adjudged for them. It was only when the indentures were being sealed that Hoyle was named. On the other hand, Hoyle claimed that he was named at the first reading and although at first he had fewer than either Savile or Ingram, his numbers constantly increased, so that by the time the indentures were sealed he had two for every one of Savile's. Furthermore, Sheriff Thompson repeatedly refused his request for a poll and sealed the indentures at quarter past nine, although he was admonished for so doing. Complaints were also brought against two Aldermen for unduly preparing the election. It was stated that Alderman Henslowe procured the support of the Company of Tailors two days prior to the election and published a letter from Sir John Savile urging them to elect his son. He also informed the Sheriff that he would be 'saved harmless' if Sir Thomas Savile was returned. Similarly, Alderman Cowper assembled the Company of Merchants to hear Sir John's letter and also persuaded Sheriff Thompson to give a precipitate judgment.¹ The Commons decided that Hoyle was well elected. They punished Sheriff Thompson and Alderman Henslowe for their misdemeanours, but discharged Cowper and the other Sheriff.²

It is possible to trace the election preliminaries at Canterbury through the pen of Thomas Scott, one of the

1. C.J. I. 879,887,890; B.M., Harleian MSS. 4771. ff.105,121b.

B.M., Harleian MSS. 2313. f. 51b.

2. C.J. I. 890-1.

defeated candidates, although his evidence is by its very nature 'ex parte'. The city, which had been incorporated, consisted of a mayor, a recorder, twelve aldermen, and twenty-four common councilmen,¹ while the parliamentary franchise was vested in the freemen.² Friction had arisen in previous parliamentary elections between the aldermen and commons over the choice of candidates.³ In 1626 the aldermen tried to join James Palmer, "our neighbours childe" with "theire late Recorder and Orator, Syr John Finch, but not so much in theire desire of him (whom they love not) as by his meanes to bring in Mr Palmer".⁴ Palmer, who was a gentleman of the bedchamber, had been recommended to the city by the Earl of Montgomery, whose favour it wished to obtain. In order to qualify him as one of the parliamentary representatives, he had been elected a freeman of the borough. However, a number of the common councillors were opposed to Palmer's nomination "because of his ineligibilitie and dependencie".⁵ Consequently, they laboured to secure the election as a freeman of Sir John Wylde, a neighbouring landlord,⁶ who had resided in the city for several years, but without avail. Thomas Scott was then approached and consented to stand. To further his candidature, he paired himself with Wylde, an arrangement whereby

1. Edward Hasted, The history of the --- city of Canterbury, (2nd. edit. 1801), I. 28.
2. John Brent, Canterbury in the Olden Time, (2nd. edit. 1879), p. 80.
3. Ibid., p. 81. The corporation had resolved in 1581 "that no Burgess shall be nominated in future [to parliament] but such as are dwellers in the city". A parliamentary aspirant often purchased his freedom prior to his nomination.
4. Thomas Scott MS. ff. 4b-5. It would appear that Finch had not been re-instated by the corporation after his dismissal from the office of recorder. Cf. D.N.B., VII. 15.
5. Thomas Scott. MS. f. 5.
6. W. Berry, Kentish Genealogies, p. 108.

he obtained the support of Sir John and his friends for the first seat, and gave his voices for Wylde for the second place.

While Scott claimed that he did not stir until the evening prior to the election, the mayor and aldermen conducted an active campaign, often canvassing until midnight, on behalf of his opponents. The names of all those who supported Palmer were entered in the mayor's book.¹ Scott maintained that "six Brewing Aldermen (one of them is a wine Brewer) and their five or six score Alehouses and all the notable Alehouse haunters, and wine bibbers and others, obliged or addicted to these, or formerly (before Mr Scott stirred) ingaged by promise -".² Pressure was brought to bear on the electorate. Thus Robert White was sent for by the mayor and compelled to promise that he would vote for Finch and Palmer contrary to his inclination, with the threat: "the Magistrates have been your friends, else you have been pressed".³ Objections were raised against Mr. Aldey, preacher of St. Andrews Parish and a supporter of Scott: "While did he meddle in Civill busynesses? he did contrarie to religion in it".⁴ Apparently, the aldermen opposed Scott so violently because he had failed to contribute to the poor while living in Canterbury, and had crossed the aldermen in a previous election.⁵ In the actual contest Scott maintained that a prisoner was released by the sheriff from prison on his promise to vote for Finch and Palmer, and that his opponents were unduly elected.⁶ Nevertheless, it does not appear that he referred the issue to the House of Commons.

Such instances of undue pressure are exceptional at this period. The landed gentry, so dominated the vast majority of boroughs, that most elections were but a mere formality and are a clear expression of their effective power.

1. Thomas Scott, MS. f. 5b.

2. Ibid., f. 15b.

3. Ibid., f. 27b.

4. Ibid., f. 24.

5. Ibid. ff. 24b-25.

6. Ibid., f. 27.

he obtained the support of Sir John and his friends for the first seat, and gave his voice for Wilde for the second place.

While Scott claimed that he did not stir until the evening prior to the election, the mayor and aldermen conducted an active campaign, often canvassing until midnight, on behalf of his opponents. The names of all those who supported Palmer were entered in the mayor's book. Scott maintained that "six

ERRATUM

No: of courtiers elected in 1625 - 113.

...the registers have been your friends, else you have been greased." Objections were raised against Mr. Alcock, preacher of St. Andrew's Parish and a supporter of Scott: "What did he make in civil business? he did contrive to religion in it." A... the aldermen opposed Scott so violently because he had failed to contribute to the poor while living in Canterbury, and he opposed the aldermen in a previous election. In the actual contest Scott maintained that a prisoner was released by the aldermen on his promise to vote for Finch and Palmer, and that the opponents were unduly elected. Nevertheless, it does not seem that he referred the issue to the House of Commons. Such instances of undue pressure are exceptional at this period. The landed gentry, so dominated the vast majority of boroughs, that most elections were but a mere formality and the a free expression of their effective power.

- Thomas Scott, Esq. p. 50.
- Id. p. 150.
- Id. p. 270.
- Id. p. 271.
- Id. p. 272-273.
- Id. p. 274.

Chapter VI.

Conclusion.

It is perhaps proper that a survey of the parliamentary elections of the early years of Charles I's reign should lead to a comparison with those of the Elizabethan and later Stuart eras. The elections of the earlier period have been fully analysed by Professor Neale, and he has calculated that in the last parliament of Elizabeth's reign twenty to twenty-five per cent of the House of Commons were 'courtiers'¹ - a percentage which is roughly true for the 1625-8 parliaments. Thus in 1625, approximately 110 'courtiers' were returned, and although fewer were elected in the two succeeding elections, it was not by any large margin. Similarly, from 1675 to 1695, the number of 'courtiers' remained fairly constant at approximately a hundred.² However, it must be emphasised that the 'court party' did not possess any cohesion, and that those who held official positions did not invariably vote for the government. The King's power over such 'courtiers' was limited, amongst other things, by the terms of their appointment. Not until the beginning of Charles II's reign was it generally acknowledged that whenever government business was under discussion, office-holders should attend and vote.³

An analysis of the parliamentary elections of 1625-8 indicates that the government made little attempt to facilitate the return of 'courtiers', although it possessed significant advantages in preparing an election. Thus, there was no attempt

1. Neale, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

2. A. Browning, *Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds 1632-1712*. III. 62. It is easier to calculate the approximate number of 'courtiers' in the later Stuart period, as division lists and elaborate political surveys are extant.

3. *Ibid.* III. 61-2.

made to re-model the local magistracy and in particular the Lord-Lieutenancies, for electoral purposes.¹ Indeed, the government had little need to have recourse to the nomination of particular candidates, as the normal processes of patronage led to the return of many 'courtiers'. The election of so many 'courtiers' suggests that the misgovernment of the earlier years of Charles I's reign was not reflected in the parliamentary elections of the period. The number of contested elections - twenty in 1625 and 1628, and fourteen in 1626 - is an indication of the increasing political and social importance attached to membership. Indeed, there is rarely any evidence of a court and country struggle. This is not surprising when we remember that the majority of boroughs were close corporations, often controlled by a local magnate. The religious factor would appear to be of little consequence in the parliamentary elections of the time, which were primarily an expression of the dominance in English society of the landed gentry.

1. cf. Ibid. I. 196.

LIST OF APPENDICES.

- Appendix (1) Names of 'courtiers' elected in 1625, 1626 and 1628, with a list of their offices.
- (2) List of contested elections in 1625, 1626 and 1628.
- (3) List of disputed elections in 1625, 1626 and 1628.
- (4) List of recorders returned in 1625.
- (5) List of M.P's who served in each of the first three parliaments of Charles I.
- (6) List of M.P's who served in both the 1624 and 1625 parliaments.
- (7) List of those imprisoned for refusing the forced loan, with reference to their election for parliament.

COURTIERS ELECTED IN 1625.PRIVY COUNCILLORSCONSTITUENCYSir Thomas EdmondesOxford University

21 December 1614 appointed clerk
to the council.

D.N.B., VI.391 seqq.

19 January 1618 appointed Treasurer
of the Royal Household.

Ibid.

Sir Humphrey MayLeicester

January 1618 appointed Surveyor
of the Court of Wards.

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1611-18, p.514.

D.N.B., XLII.140-1.

March 1618 appointed Chancellor
of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1611-18, p.525.

Sir Albertus MortonKent

1625 appointed a Secretary of State.

D.N.B., XLII.1045.

Sir Robert NauntonCambridge University.

8 January 1618 appointed Secretary
of State - retired January 1623.

D.N.B., XLV.126

July 1623 appointed Master of the
Court of Wards.

Ibid.

Sir John SucklingYarmouth

February 1620 appointed a master
of requests.

D.N.B., XLX.141.

1622 appointed Comptroller of
the Royal Household.

Ibid.

Sir Richard WestonCallington

29 January 1621 appointed Chancellor
and under-treasurer of the exchequer.

D.N.B., XX.1275 seqq.

1. D.H. Willson in his Privy Councillors in the House of Commons gives a list of courtiers for the 1625-1628 parliaments. His list is incomplete and contains no references. It has proved useful as a starting point for this appendix.

MINOR OFFICE HOLDERS AND OTHER COURTIERSir Francis AnnesleyCarmarthen

1618 Principal Secretary of State
for Ireland.

D.N.B., 1.475 seqq.

30 May 1625 appointed Vice-Treasurer
and Receiver-General of Ireland.

43rd. Rpt., D.K. Pub. Records.
App., 1.6.

Sir Thomas BadgerStockbridge

22 December 1621 appointed Master
of the Privy Harriers.

P.R.O., E 403/2455 f73b.

James Bagg, Esq.,East Loos

31 May 1614. Grant of office of
Comptroller of the Customs at
Plymouth and Fowey.

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1611-18, p.235.

26 August 1622 appointed Vice-Admiral
of Southern Cornwall.

Camden Miscellany, vol. LIX.
app. VII.

30 June 1626. Grant of office in
reversion of the Captain of the Fort
at Plymouth and of St. Nicholas. Isle.

43rd. Rpt., D.K. Pub. Records,
app., 1.22.

Sir William BeecherDover

1616. Auditor of the Court of Wards.

B.M., Lansdowne MSS. 222. f. 135^b

24 January 1623 appointed Clerk of
the Privy Council.

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1619-23, p.483

Sir Thomas BludderReigate

His father, one of the victuallers
for the navy.

H.M.C., 8th. Rpt., App., p.399

A gentleman of the Privy Chamber
in 1631.

Carlisle, op.cit., p.133.

William Boswell, Esq.,Boston

Secretary to Lord Herbert of
Cherbury, Ambassador at Paris 1620.
Secretary to Sir Dudley Carleton,
Ambassador at the Hague.

D.N.B., 11.902.

Ibid.

Sir John BotelerCo. Hertford

Married Elizabeth, sister of the
half-blood to George, Duke of
Buckingham.

G.E.C., Complete Bart. 1.142.

John Boteler, Esq.

Related to Buckingham.

Co. Hertford.

Visitations of Hertfordshire-
(in) 1572 and 1634, p.112.

Thomas Carey, Esq.

1623 accompanied Prince Charles to Spain.

Helston

H.M.C., 3rd. Rpt., App., p.284.

1625 Groom of the Bedchamber to James I. P.R.O., LC 2/6.f.71.

28 May 1625 granted pension of £500 year. P.R.O., E 403/2456.f.36.b.

21 December 1629. Grant of office of Gentleman Porter in the Tower of London. 43rd. Rpt., D.K. Pub. Records. App., 1. 151.

Sir Thomas Canon

Surveyor-General of Crown lands in South Wales.

Haverfordwest

Cal. S.P. Dom., 1619-23, p.55

Sir Robert Carr

Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in Ordinary in Household of Prince Henry.

Aylesbury

B.M., Harleian MSS. 642.f.253

1623. Accompanied Prince Charles to Spain. H.M.C., 3rd. Rpt., App., p.284.

1625 Gentleman of the Bedchamber and Keeper of Privy Purse. P.R.O., LC 2/6.f.71.

Sir Thomas Cheke

Described as a courtier.

Beeralston

Willson, The Privy Councillors in the House of Commons 1604-29
p.190.n.48.

Sir George Chudleigh

1 July 1626 "well-affected" towards Buckingham. P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/37/91.

Lostwithiel

Ralph Clare, Esq.,

Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in Ordinary to Prince Henry.

£100 annuity and appointed Keeper of Bewdley Park (circa 1622).

1623. Accompanied Prince Charles to Spain.

Bewdley

B.M., Harleian MSS. 642.f.253.

B.M., Stowe MSS. 322.f.52.

H.M.C., 3rd. Rpt., App.p.284.

Edward Clarke, Esq.

Groom of Bedchamber to James 1 in 1625.

One of the clerks of the council in 1625.

Employed on diplomatic missions by Charles 1 and Buckingham.

10 July 1626 granted yearly pension of £500.

Hythe

P.R.O., LG 2/6. f.40.

P.R.O., A01/392/64.f.17.

D.N.B., 1V.420.

P.R.O., E 403/2456.f.111.b.

Sir John Coke

June 1618 a special commissioner for the examination of the state of the Navy.

1625 appointed one of the principal secretaries of state.

St. Germans.

D.N.B., 1V. 700 seqq.

Ibid.

Sir Francis Cottington

24 September 1613 grant of the clerkship of the Privy Council.

October 1622 sworn Secretary to the Prince of Wales.

Bossiney

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1611-18, p.200

D.N.B., 1V.1218. seqq.

Sackville Crowe, Esq.

Duke of Buckingham's servant in 1625.
5 April 1627 appointed Treasurer of the Navy.

Hastings

H.M.C., 13th. Rpt., App.pt. IX.475

P.R.O., E403/2456. f.142.

1. Sir Francis Cottington was in temporary disgrace at this period.

D.N.B., 1V. 1218. seqq.

Sir Edward Dering

His brother-in-law related to the
Duke of Buckingham.

Hythe

D.N.B., V.845.

John Drake, Esq.,

"Well-affected" towards the Duke
of Buckingham.

Lyme Regis

P.R.O., S.P.Dom., 16/31/2.

Cal. S.P.Dom., 1625-6, p.456.

Francis Drake, Esq.

Gentleman of the Privy Chamber
under James I.

Agmondesham

P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 39 b.

Henry Edmondes, Esq.

Son and heir of Sir Thomas Edmondes,
the Treasurer of the Household.

Newtown

Alum. Oxon. 11.445.

Thomas Fanshawe, Esq.

17 September 1619 appointed
Remembrancer of the Exchequer.

Hertford.

Cal. S.P.Dom., 1619-23., p.78.

Sir Thomas Fanshawe

1600. Auditor of the Northern parts
of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Clerk of the Crown in the King's
Bench.

Lancaster

W.R.Williams, Lancaster

Official Lists, p.53.

28 April 1626 appointed Surveyor-
General of Crown lands with yearly
annuity of £200.

P.R.O., E403/2518. f.14.

William Fanshawe, Esq.

14 May 1604 grant of reversion of
Auditor of the Northern parts of
the Duchy of Lancaster.

Clitheroe

Cal. S.P. Dom., 1603-10, p.108.

Sir Thomas Farnefould

A gentleman pensioner at this period.

Steypning

P.R.O., E407/1/43.

Sir Miles Fleetwood

22 March 1610 Grant of office of
Receiver-General of the Court of Wards.

Newton.

Cal. S.P.Dom., 1603-10, p.593.

9 July 1625 Grant of £5,000 out
of debts due in the Court of Wards.

Cal. S.P.Dom., 1625-6, p.57.

Thomas Fotherley, Esq.,

A servant of the Duke of Buckingham.
24 July 1626 Grant of office of
Steward of the King's Manors and
Lordships within the liberty of
St. Albans.

Rye.

H.M.C., 13th. Rpt. App. pt. IV. 173
43rd. Rpt., D.K. Pub. Records.
App., 1. 33.

Sir John Francklyn

Recommended as M.P. to Rye by
Buckingham in 1625.

Middlesex

H.M.C., 13th. Rpt., App. pt. IV. 173.

Sir James Fullerton

25 April 1615 Grant of office of
registering affidavits in Chancery.

St. Mawes.

Cal. S.P. Dom., 1611-18, p. 284

Groom of the Stool in 1625 to James I. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 71.

Charles Glenham, Esq.

24 June 1620 appointed Captain
and Keeper of Sandown Castle.
Gentleman of the Privy Chamber
to Prince Charles.

Aldeburgh

P.R.O., E 403/2455. f. 2b.

B.M., Stowe MSS. 322. f. 52.

Master of the Household to James I.

William Salt Arch. Soc., 11. 33.

Sir Francis Godolphin

22 September 1613 grant of office of
Receiver-General in the counties
of Devon, Cornwall and York.
Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to
James I in 1625.

St. Ives.

Cal. S.P. Dom., 1611-18, p. 200

P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 71b.

Sir George Goring

Gentleman of the Privy Chamber
in Ordinary in Household of
Prince Henry.

Lewes

B.M., Harleian MSS. 642. f. 253.

1623 Knight Marshal of the Household. Cal. S.P. Dom., 1623-25, p. 104.

Lieutenant of the Gentlemen
Pensioners in 1625.

P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 49.

1626 Vice-Chamberlain to Queen
Henrietta Maria.

P.R.O., E404/150.

Sir John Hare

Married Elizabeth, daughter of
Sir Thomas Coventry, the Lord Keeper.

Sir William Harrington

25 May 1621 appointed Lieutenant
of the Ordnance.

Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in
Ordinary to James I.

Sir George Hastings

Described as a courtier.

Sir Arnold Herbert

A gentleman pensioner at this period.

Sir Charles Howard

A gentleman of the Privy Chamber
in Ordinary in 1625.

Sir John Hippisley

Lieutenant of Dover Castle.

Sir Henry Hungate

Appointed a gentleman of the Privy
Chamber in 1628.

In communication with the government.

Sir Robert Hyde

1625. A gentleman pensioner.

1629. A gentleman pensioner.

Sir Arthur Ingram

March 1612 appointed one of the
Secretaries of the Council of the North.

Sir John Jepson

In correspondence with Secretary
Conway.

Connected with naval administration.

Aylesbury

W.R. Williams The Parliamentary

History of the County of
Worcester. p. 142.

Wilton

P.R.O., E403/2456. f. 61.

P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 39.

Leicester

Willson, op. cit., p. 190. n. 48.

Morpeth

P.R.O., E407/1/43.

Gatton

P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 39.

Dover

Cal. S.P. Dom., 1623-5, p. 352.

Camelford

Carlisle, op. cit., p. 131.

Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8, p. 340.

Wootton Bassett

P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 49.

P.R.O., E407/1/43.

York

D.N.B., X. 449-50.

Petersfield

Cal. S.P. Dom., 1623-5, p. 401.

Ibid., 1627-8, p. 343.

Henry Jermyn, Esq.

Gentleman in attendance on the
Embassy to Paris in 1624.

2 July 1628 appointed Vice-Chamberlain
to the Queen.

Bodmin

D.N.B., X. 779.

Sir Thomas Jermyn

Supported the government.

Bury St. Edmunds

Commons' Debates in 1625, p.108.

Sir Rowland ST. John

Carver in the Household of
King James 1 in 1625.

Tiverton

P.R.O., LC 2/6. f.40b.

Sir Thomas Jervoise

Sympathetic to the Court.

Whitchurch

Cal. S.P.Dom., 1627-8, p.541.

Ibid., 1627-8, p.566.

Sir Robert Killigrew

7 July 1614 appointed Captain of
Pendennis Castle.

Cornwall

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1611-18, p.242.

31 October 1618 appointed prothonotary
of chancery for life.

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1611-18, p.589.

Gentleman of the Privy Chamber
under James 1.

P.R.O., LC 2/6. f.39b.

7 February 1626 appointed Resident
Ambassador to the States-General.

D.N.B., XI. 111.

22 March 1627. Grant of lease for 40
years of the profits of sealing writs
in the King's Bench and Common Pleas,
of which he is to be surveyor and
comptroller.

43rd. Rpt., D.K.Pub.Records.
App., 1. 56.

2 January 1630 appointed Vice-
Chamberlain to the Queen.

D.N.B., XI. 111.

Sir Henry Ley.

Son and heir of James Ley, Earl of
Marlborough, Lord High Treasurer.

Wiltshire

G.E.C., Complete Peerage,

VI. 489.

Sir Arthur Mainwaring

Carver in the Household of
Prince Henry.

Gentleman of the Privy Chamber
under James I.

6 February 1628 Keeper of game at
Oatlands in Surrey.

29 November 1628 grant of office of
Lieutenant of Windsor Castle and
Forest.

John Maynard, Esq.,

Described by Gardiner as a courtier.

Thomas Meautys, Esq.,

Clerk of the Privy Council.

11 December 1622 grant of annuity
of £50.

27 August 1626 grant of office to
Thomas Meautys and his brother of
making writs of subpoena in the Star
Chamber on surrender of previous patent.

Sir Henry Mildmay

Jan. 1618 appointed Master of the
King's Jewel-House.

John Mohun, Esq.,

Recommended in 1620 for post of
Vice-Warden of the Stanneries through
Buckingham's favour.

One of Buckingham's supporters.

Sir Reginald Mohun

Father of John Mohun.

Sympathetic towards the Court.

Sir Richard Molyneux

Receiver-General of the Duchy of
Lancaster.

Huntingdon

B.M., Harleian MSS. 642. f. 253

P.R.O., LC 2/6, f. 71.

P.R.O., E403/2456. f. 175.

43rd. Rpt., D.K. Pub. Records.
App., 1. 122.

Chippenham

Commons' Debates in 1625,
p. 158. n. 'b'.

Cambridge Borough

Cal. S. P. Dom., 1623-5, p. 163.

P.R.O., E403/2617. f. 103.

43rd. Rpt., D.K. Pub. Records.
App., 1. 36.

Maldon

Cal. S. P. Dom., 1611-18, p. 511.

Grampound

D. N. B., X111. 555-6.

Cal. S. P. Dom., 1627-8, p. 350.

Lostwithiel

G. E. C. Complete Peerage, 1X. 25.

P.R.O., S. P. Dom., 16/96/36.

Lancashire

D. N. B., X111. 582.

Sir George More

Receiver-General to Prince Henry.
 9 July 1611 appointed Chancellor
 of the Order of the Garter.
 October 1615 appointed Lieutenant of
 the Tower. Sold the office in 1617.
 1621 granted a lease of crown lands
 at £60 a year.

SurreyD.N.B., XLII. 860-1.Ibid.Ibid.Ibid.Sir Robert More

A gentleman pensioner in 1625.

Guildford

P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 49b.

Sir Francis Nethersole

19 September 1619 appointed English
 agent to the Princes of the
 Protestant Union, and Secretary to
 the Electress Palatine.

Coffe CastleD.N.B., XLV. 229 seqq.

22 September 1619 granted pension of
 £200 a year.

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1619-23, p.79.

16 November 1623 granted £1,000 in
 consideration of his services, and
 those of his father-in-law.

43rd.Rpt., D.K.Pub. Records.

App., 1. 83.

Richard Oliver, Esq.

A Commissioner of the Duke of
 Buckingham's estate.

BuckinghamCal.S.P.Dom., 1628-9, p.44.

Receiver of the King's Revenue
 in County York.

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1628-9, p.508.Roger Palmer, Esq.

Cupbearer to Prince Henry.

Queensborough

B.M. Harleian MSS. 642. f. 253.

1621 grant of annuity of £100.

B.M. Stowe MSS. 322. f. 52b.

Cupbearer to James I in 1625.

P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 71b.

Master of the Household to Charles I.

Shaw, Knights, 1. 162.Thomas Paramour, Esq.

Lord Treasurer Marlborough's
 secretary.

Lyme RegisCal.S.P.Dom., 1627-8, p.106.

Sir William Parkhurst

Warden of the Mint.

Sir George Paule

30 March 1621. A grant, along with Sir Robert Heath, of the surveyorship of the office of chief clerk for enrolling pleas in the King's Bench. Before 1625 granted post of principal registrar to the High Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical.

Talbot Pepys, Esq.

Employed in Buckingham's service.

Sir William Pitt

An officer of the Court of Receipt in 1610.

One of the Commissioners employed about the Household and Navy.

Sir Robert Pye

July 1618 appointed Remembrancer of the Exchequer.

24 January 1620 appointed Auditor of the Exchequer.

7 April 1618 grant to Sir Richard Young and Robert Pye of Clerk of the Letters Patent in Chancery.

Sir Walter Pye

8 February 1617 appointed a Justice in Glamorganshire, Brecknockshire and Radnorshire.

2 February 1621 appointed Attorney of the Court of Wards and Liveries.

St. Ives.

Cal. S.P.Dom., 1623-5, p.296.

BrIdgnorth

D.N.B., XV. 524-5.

Ibid.Cambridge Borough

C.H.Cooper, Annals of Cambridge 111. 169.

Wareham

B.M., Lansdowne MSS.164.f528.

Shaw, Knights, 11. 171.

Ludgershall

D.N.B., XVI. 514.

Ibid.

Cal. S.P.Dom., 1611-18, p.533.

Brecon

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1611-18, p.432.

Ibid., 1619-23, p.218.

Sir Nathaniel Rich

One of Buckingham's friends.

Newport, I.o.W.

Gardiner, History of England,
1603-42, v.414.

Sir George Rivers

Described as a courtier¹

Lewes

Willson, op.cit., p.190.n.48.

Sir Edward Rodney

Employed himself heartily in the
forced loan of 1626.

Wells

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1625-6, p.445.

Sir Benjamin Rudyard

17 April 1618 appointed Surveyor
of the Court of Wards.

Portsmouth

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1611-18, p.385.

Gentleman of the Privy Chamber
under James I.

P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 39b.

Sir Edwin Sandys

Regarded as a favourite of Buckingham.

Penryn

D.N.B., XVII. 778.

Sir Edmund Sawyer

An Auditor of the Exchequer.

Harwich

P.R.O., E403/2455. f. 45.

Sir Edward Seymour

A member supposed to possess the
confidence of Buckingham.

Totness

Gardiner, History of England,
V.239.

John Stowell, Esq.

Employed himself heartily in the
forced loan of 1626.

Somerset

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1625-6, p.445

Sir William Strade

Well-affected towards Buckingham.

Plympton Earl

P.R.O., S.P.Dom., 16/37/91.

Nathaniel Tomkins, Esq.

February 1622. Clerk of the Prince's
Council.

Christchurch

Duchy of Cornwall, Enrolment
Book 1615-25, f.299.

Sir John Trevor

1599-1611 Surveyor of the Navy.

East Looe

Corrections to D.N.B.

Comptroller of the Household to James I. Ibid.

Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in 1625. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 39.

Sir William Uvedall

13 January 1618 appointed Treasurer
of the Chamber.

Petersfield

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1611-18, p.513.

Sir Henry Vane

1617 Cofferer to the Prince of
Wales. Held office when Charles
became King.

Carlisle

D.N.B., XX 113 seqq.

18 May 1621 granted yearly pension
of £200.

P.R.O., E403/2455. f. 38.

April 1625 in favour with Buckingham.
1629 Comptroller of the King's
Household.

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1625-6, p.10.

Ibid., 1629-31, p.509.

Sir Edmund Verney

Sewer in the household of Prince Henry.
1623, one of the gentlemen of the
Privy Chamber chosen to go to Spain
with Prince Charles.

Romney

B.M., Harleian MSS.642.f.253

H.M.C., 3rd.Rpt.App., p.284.

6 December 1625 granted yearly
pension of £200.

P.R.O., E403/2456. f.54b.

15 February 1626 Knight Marshal of
the King's Palace.

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1625-6, p.561.

Sir Edward Villiers

October 1617. Master of the Mint.
November 1618. Comptroller of the
Court of Wards.

Westminster

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1611-18, p.489

Ibid., p.598.

January 1625 President of Munster.

Ibid., 1623-5, p.450.

Sir Edward Wardour

Clerk of the Pells.

Malmesbury

P.R.O.; LC 2/6. f.56.

Sir Henry Whitehead

An active Commissioner for the
1626 loan.

Southampton County

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1625-6, p.506.

Ibid. 1627-8, p.556

Sir William Withpole

Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in 1625

Orford

P.R.O., LC 2/6. f.39b.

Sir Henry Wootton

Diplomatist.

26 July 1624 appointed Provost of Eton.

1627. granted pension of £200 a year.

John Wolstenholme, Esq.,His Father, one of the farmers of the
customs.Sandwich

D.N.B.,XXI.966. seqq.

Ibid.Ibid.West Looe.

D.N.B.,XXI. 815.

Sir Thomas Gresham

February 1624 appointed King's

sergeant-at-law.

Speaker in the House of Commons in

the 1624 and 1625 parliaments.

Richard Elwes Esq.

Sergeant-at-law.

Sir Henrich Finch

25 June 1627 appointed sergeant-at-law.

Sir John Gresham

1618 appointed a master of requests.

Sir Robert Heath

22 January 1621 appointed Solicitor-

General.

31 October 1622 appointed Attorney-

General.

Sir Robert Hitchen

1603 Attorney-general to Anne of

Dorset.

4 January 1616 appointed King's sergeant.

Thomas Hughes Esq.

Prothonotary of the court of

Gloucester, Brethnock and Redgrave.

Wotton

D.N.B., V. 33.

Ibid.Wotton

D.N.B., I. 472.

Ibid.

D.N.B., VII. 7.

Wotton

D.N.B., VII. 670.

Wotton

D.N.B., IX. 347.

Ibid.Wotton

D.N.B., IX. 402.

Ibid.Wotton

D.N.B., Lamborne MSS.

D.N.B., f. 168.

LEGAL OFFICIALS.Sir Francis Ashley

5 May 1625 appointed King's
sergeant-at-law.

Dorchester

P.R.O., E.403/2456.f.13.

Francis Carew Esq.,

Prothonotary of Chancery.
Gentleman of the Privy Chamber
under James I.

Haslemere.

P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 55.
H.M.C., 3rd.Rpt., App., p.284.

Sir Thomas Crew

February 1624 appointed King's
sergeant-at-law.
Speaker in the House of Commons in
the 1624 and 1625 parliaments.

Gatton.

D.N.B., V. 83.

Richard Digges Esq.,

Sergeant-at-law.

Marlborough.

O.R., 1. 472.

Sir Heneage Finch

25 June 1623 appointed sergeant-at-law.

London.

D.N.B., VII. 7.

Sir Ralph Freeman

1618 appointed a master of requests.

Winchelsea.

D.N.B., VII. 680.

Sir Robert Heath

22 January 1621 appointed Solicitor-
General.
31 October 1625 appointed Attorney-
General.

East Grinstead

D.N.B., IX. 347.

Ibid.Sir Robert Hitcham

1603 Attorney-general to Anne of
Denmark.

Orford.

D.N.B., IX. 908.

4 January 1616 appointed King's sergeant. Ibid.

Thomas Hughes Esq.

Prothonotary of the counties of
Glamorgan, Brecknock and Radnor.

Appleby.

B.M., Lansdowne MSS.
222. f. 168.

Nicholas Hyde, Esq.

Lawyer:- 31 January 1627 appointed
sergeant-at-law.

Employed by Buckingham in preparing
his defence to the articles of
impeachment in 1626.

John Keeling, Esq.

Crown Attorney of the King's Bench.

Sir Edward Leech

Master of Chancery.

Thomas Mallett, Esq.

Lawyer:- 27 February 1626 appointed
the Queen's Solicitor.

Secretary of State Conway's cousin.

Sir Henry Marten

3 March 1609 appointed King's advocate.
October 1617. Judge of the Admiralty
Court.

William Towse, Esq.

Sergeant-at-law.

SONS OF LEGAL OFFICIALS.Robert Caesar, Esq.

4th. surviving son of Sir Julius
Caesar.

Thomas Coventry, Esq.

Son and heir of Sir Thomas Coventry,
Lord Keeper.

Bath

D.N.B., X. 399.

Ibid.Newcastle-under-Lyme.

J.C. Wedgwood, 'Staffordshire
Parliamentary History',
William Salt Arch. Soc.,
II. 47.

Derby.

P.R.O., LC 2/6 f. 55.

Newtown.

Foss, Judges of England,
VII. 144.
Cal. S.P. Dom., 1627-8,
p. 542.

Newport.

Cal. S.P. Dom., 1603-10, p. 496.
D.N.B., XII.

Colchester.

O.R., I. 463.

Bodmin.

E. Lodge, Life of Sir
Julius Caesar and his
descendants., p. 58.

Droitwich.

G.E.C., Complete Peerage,
III. 477.

John Crew, Esq.

Son and heir of Sir Thomas Crew,
King's sergeant-at-law.

Richard Hutton, Esq.

Son of Sir Richard Hutton, one of
the Justices of the Common Pleas.

Agmondesham

D.N.B., V. 78-9.

Knaresborough.

O.R., I. 467.

Sir Robert Hutton.

Sir John Hutton.

Sir Richard Hutton.

Sir Dudley Carleton.

Held several ecclesiastical positions.

1623 Made vice-chamberlain of the
Household.

Agmondesham.

Agmondesham.

Agmondesham.

Agmondesham.

D.N.B., III. 957.

D.N.B., III. 958.

MINOR OFFICIALS, JUDGES AND OTHER OFFICIALS.

Sir Thomas Baker.

Sir James Bagg.

Peter Ball, Esq.

15 November 1627 appointed one of the
Auditors of the Duchy of Cornwall.

Sir William Boucher.

Thomas Brett, Esq.

A good friend of Buckingham.

Sir Thomas Blundell.

Sir John Buxton.

Sir Thomas Canon.

Thomas Carter, Esq.

William Carr, Esq.

Brother of the Secretary in 1625.

Sir Thomas Choke.

John Chodolish, Esq.

Stackbridge.

Stackbridge.

Stackbridge.

D.N.B., Vol. III. Part. Records.

Stackbridge.

Stackbridge.

Stackbridge.

Stackbridge.

Stackbridge.

Stackbridge.

Stackbridge.

Stackbridge.

Stackbridge.

D.N.B., Vol. III. Part. Records.

Stackbridge.

Stackbridge.

COURTIERS ELECTED IN 1626.Privy Councillors.Sir Thomas Edmondes.Sir John Coke.Sir Humphrey May.Sir Robert Naunton.Sir John Suckling.Sir Richard Weston.Sir Dudley Carleton.

Held several ambassadorial positions.

1625 made vice-chamberlain of the
Household.Oxford University.Cambridge University.Leicester.Suffolk.Norwich.Bodmin.Hastings.D.N.B., 111. 997.Ibid., 111. 998.MINOR OFFICE-HOLDERS AND OTHER COURTIERS.Sir Thomas BadgerSir James Bagg.Peter Ball, Esq.15 November 1627 appointed one of the
Auditors of the Duchy of Cornwall.Sir William Beecher.Thomas Brett, Esq.

A good friend of Buckingham.

Sir Thomas Bludder.Sir John Boteler.Sir Thomas Canon.Thomas Carey, Esq.William Carr, Esq.

Groom of the Bedchamber in 1625.

Sir Thomas Cheeke.John Chudleigh, Esq.Stockbridge.East Looe.Tiverton.

43rd. Rpt., D.K. Pub. Records.

App., 1. 50.

Ilchester.Romney.Cal. S.P.Dom., 1627-8, p.506.Reigate.Hertford County.Haverfordwest.Tregony.St. Mawes.P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 40.Maldon.East Looe.

Ralph Clare,¹ Esq.

Sir William Croftes.²

A gentleman of the Privy Chamber
to Prince Charles.

Sir Edward Conway.

A son of the Secretary of State.

Sir Sampson Darrell.

Surveyor of Marine Victuals.

John Drake, Esq.

Francis Drake, Esq.

Sir Henry Edmondes.

Thomas Fanshawe, Esq.

Sir Thomas Fanshawe.

Sir Miles Fleetwood.

Thomas Fotherley, Esq.

Sir John Franklyn.

Thomas Gewen, Esq.

Auditor of the Duchy of Cornwall.

Emanuel Gifford, Esq.

A gentleman of the Privy Chamber under
James I.

1625. Appointed to a commission to
examine the state of Ireland.

Bewdley.

Malmesbury.

H.M.C., 3rd. Rpt., App.,
p. 284.

Yarmouth.

D.N.B., 1v. 976.

Wendover.

Cal. S.P.Dom., 1625-6, p. 73.

Devon.

Agmondesham.

Newton.

Preston.

Lancaster.

Newton.

Rye.

Wootton Bassett.

Newport.

B.M., Add. MSS. 15, 630.
f. 75b.

Bury St. Edmunds.

P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 39b.

Rymer, Foedera, xviii. 46.

1. Clare was, however, turned out of his place in the Privy Chamber for opposing Buckingham in this parliament. H. Ellis, Original Letters, lll. 262.
2. Sir William was, however, dismissed from his post because of his opposition in this parliament. H. Ellis, Original Letters, lll. 262.

Sir Francis Godolphin.

Sir George Goring.

Richard Graham, Esq.

One of Buckingham's servants.

Master of the Horse to Buckingham.

Sir John Hare.

Sir Robert Harley.

6 September 1626. Grant of office of
Master and Worker of the Mint.

Sir William Harrington.

Sir George Hastings.

Sir John Hippisley.

Sir Gilbert Houghton.

Cupbearer in King James I's Household.

A carver in 1625.

Sir Charles Howard.

Sir Henry Hungate.

Sir Robert Hyde.

Sir Arthur Ingram.

Henry Jermyn, Esq.

Sir Thomas Jermyn.

Sir Thomas Jervoise.

Sir Robert Killigrew.

George Kirke, Esq.

A groom of the bedchamber to Prince
Charles.
28 May 1625. Grant of pension of

£500 a year.

Sir Henry Ley.

Thomas Meautys, Esq.

Reginald Mohun, Esq.

Cornwall.

Lewes.

Carlisle.

43rd. Rpt., D.K. Pub.

Records. App., 1. 118.

S. Jefferson, History of
Carlisle. p. 402.

Evesham.

Hereford County.

Cal. S.P.Dom., 1625-6, p. 573.

Portsmouth.

Leicester.

Dover.

Lancashire.

B.M., Add.MSS.14,285.f.28.

P.R.O., LC 2/6.f.40b.

Gatton.

Newport.

Cricklade.

York.

Bodmin.

Bury St. Edmunds.

Tregony.

Clitheroe.

H.M.C., 3rd. Rpt., App., p. 284.

P.R.O., E403/2456.f.33b.

Devizes.

Cambridge Borough.

Lostwithiel.

Sir George More.

William Murray, Esq.

A groom of the bedchamber to Prince Charles.
Grant of pension of £400 a year to
William Murray and his wife. - 26
December 1625.

Richard Oliver, Esq.

Roger Palmer, Esq.

Thomas Paramour, Esq.

Robert Pooley, Esq.
Sir William Pooley.

Well-affected towards Buckingham.

Sir Robert Pye.

Sir Walter Pye.

Sir Nathaniel Rich.

Sir George Rivers.

Sir Edward Rodney.

Sir Benjamin Rudyard.

Sir William Russell.

10. May 1618 appointed Treasurer
of the Navy.

14 May 1625. One of the collectors
of the Impositions upon Silks and
Velvet.

Sir Edwin Sandys.

Sir Nicholas Saunders.

Recommended by Buckingham as M.P.
for Winchester.

Sir John Savile.

1625 Comptroller of the King's
Household.

1626 Vice-President of the Council
of the North.

Sir Richard Strode.

Recommended by Buckingham to Bridport
as an M.P. in 1626.

Surrey.

Fowey.

H.M.C., 3rd. Rpt., App., p.284.

43rd. Rpt., D.K. Pub.

Records. App., 1. 17.

Tiverton.

Queenborough.

Lyme Regis.

Queenborough
Wigan.

P.R.O., S.P.Dom., 16/37/91.

Westminster.

Hereford County.

Harwich.

Lewes.

Wells.

Old Sarum.

New Windsor.

Cal. S.P.Dom., 1611-18.

p. 540.

P.R.O., E403/2456.f.131.

Penryn.

Winchelsea.

B.M., Add.MSS.37,819.f.17b.

York County.

G.E.C., Complete Peerage.

XL. 459.

Ibid.

Bridport.

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1625-6, p.237.

William Trumball, Esq.

1609-1625. Resident at Archduke's court at Brussels.

17 February 1614 granted ordinary clerkship to the Privy Council.

Nathaniel Tomkins, Esq.

Sir William Uvedall.

Sir Henry Vane.

Sir Henry Whitehead.

John Wolstenholme, Esq. and King's Counsel.

Downton.

D.N.B., XLX. 1191.

Ibid., XLX. 1192.

Christchurch.

Petersfield.

Carlisle. University.

Winchester.

West Looe. D.N.B., XLX. 1192.

1625 appointed Attorney-General to

the Queen.

Sir Robert Hitcham.

Sir Robert Hitcham.

John Feilding, Esq.

Thomas Whitely, Esq.

Sir Henry Vane.

Sir Richard Whitely.

October 1635, appointed Solicitor-General.

Sir William Whitely.

1617, Master in Chancery.

William Trosse, Esq.

None of these officials.

Robert Croser, Esq.

Thomas Coventry, Esq.

John Gray, Esq.

Richard Hutton, Esq.

London.

London.

London.

London.

London.

London.

London.

London.

London.

London.

London.

London.

London.

London.

London.

London.

London.

London.

London.

LEGAL OFFICIALS.John Banks, Esq.

Lawyer. 1630 appointed Attorney-General to Prince Charles.

Francis Carew, Esq.Richard Digges, Esq.Thomas Eden, Esq.Sir John Finch.

17 March 1625 appointed King's Counsel. 43rd Rpt., D.K. Pub. Records.

1626 appointed Attorney-General to the Queen.

Sir Heneage Finch.Sir Robert Hitcham.John Keeling, Esq.Thomas Mallett, Esq.Sir Henry Marten.Sir Richard Shilton.

October 1625 appointed Solicitor-General. D.N.B., xviii. 43.

Sir Eubule Thelwall.

1617. Master in Chancery.

William Towse, Esq.Morpeth.D.N.B., l. 1041.Haslemere.Marlborough.Cambridge University.Canterbury.App., l. 23.D.N.B., vii. 15.London.Orford.Newcastle-under-Lyme.Newtown.St. Germans.Bridgnorth.Denbigh County.D.N.B., xix. 590.Colchester.SONS OF LEGAL OFFICIALS.Robert Caesar, Esq.Thomas Coventry, Esq.John Crew, Esq.Richard Hutton, Esq.Ilchester.Droitwich.Brackley.Knaresborough.

COURTIERS ELECTED IN 1628.Privy Councillors.

Sir John Coke

Sir Francis Cottington

Sir Thomas Edmondes

Sir Humphrey May

Cambridge University.

Saltash.

Penryn.

Leicester.

MINOR OFFICE HOLDERS AND OTHER COURTIER.Thomas Alured, gent.

Auditor of the Court of Marches of Wales. P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 75.

Sir Francis AnnesleyJohn Ashburnham, Esq.

A kinsman of Buckingham.

HeydonNewtonHastingsGardiner, History of
England 1603-42, VI. 181.Lostwithiel.Sir Thomas BadgerSir James BaggPeter Ball, Esq.Sir William Beecher.Thomas Brett, Esq.Sir Thomas CanonThomas Carey, Esq.Sir Robert CarrSir Thomas CheekeSir John ChudleighSir Ralph ClareRalph Conway, Esq.

A son of Lord Conway.

Sir William CroftesSir Sackville CroweSir Richard Edgecumbe

Sympathetic towards the Court.

Plympton Earl.Tiverton.New Windsor.RomneyHaslemereSt. MawesPrestonColchesterLostwithielBewdleyAndoverCal.S.P.Dom., 1627-8, p. 541.MalmesburyBramberBossiney

P.R.O., S.P. Dom., 16/96/36.

Evan Edwards, Esq.

2 November 1625 Grant of office to
Evan Edwards of clerk of the Exchequer
for the county palatine of Chester.

Camelford

43rd.Rpt., D.K.Pub.Records,
App., 1. 14.

Sir Thomas Fanshawe

Lancaster

Sir Thomas Farnefould

Steving

Thomas Fotherley, Esq.

Rye.

Sir Miles Fleetwood

Woodstock

Sir John Franklyn

Wootton Bassett

Sir George Goring

Lewes

Richard Graham, Esq.

Carlisle

Sir Richard Grenville

Fowey

20 June 1627 knighted through Buckingham's D.N.B., VIII. 567.
favour.

1628 obtained command of one of the Ibid.
regiments destined for relief of Rochelle.

Sir John Hare

King's Lynn

Sir Robert Harley

Evesham

Sir John Hippisley

Dover

Sir Henry Holcroft

Newton

Secretary of State for Ireland.

P.R.O , LC 2/6. f.50b.

Sir Charles Howard

Gatton

James Howell, Esq.

Richmond

1626 appointed secretary to Lord

D.N.B., X. 110.

Scrope, then lord-president of the North.

Sir Arthur Ingram

York.

Owen Jennings, gent.

Portsmouth

A deputy vice-admiral of Hampshire.

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1627-8, p.220

Sir John Jephson

Whitchurch

Sir Thomas Jervoise

Whitchurch

Henry Jermyn, Esq.

Liverpool

Sir Thomas Jermyn

Bury St. Edmunds

Sir Robert Killigrew

Bodmin

Sir William Killigrew

21 March 1628 Grant to Sir Robert Killigrew and Sir William Killigrew of the offices of captain of the fort at Pendennis, county Cornwall.

Appointed a gentleman usher to Charles I. D.N.B., XI. 116.

Sir John Maynard

Thomas Meautys, Esq.

Sir Henry Mildmay

Sir Richard Molyneux

William Murray, Esq.

Sir Francis Nethersole

Edward Nicholas, Esq.

9 December 1624 became secretary to Buckingham.

September 1625 became 'secretary for the admiralty'.

Sir Edward Osborne

Described as a supporter of the crown.

Richard Oliver, Esq.

John Packer, Esq.,

23 March 1614 a grant with Francis Godolphin of office of prothonotary of the chancery.

1616. Secretary to Buckingham.

Sir Roger Palmer

Thomas Paramour, Esq.

Sir George Paule

Henry Percy, Esq.

Friendly with Buckingham.

Sir William Pooley

Sir Robert Pye

Sir Walter Pye

Penryn

Cal.S.P.Dom.,1628-9,p.31.

Calne

Cambridge borough

Maldon

Lancaster County

East Looe

Corfe Castle

Dover

D.N.B., XIV. 422.

Ibid., XIV. 423.

East Retford

Willson, op.cit.,203.n.73.

Buckingham.

West Looe

Cal. S.P.Dom.,1611-18,p.228.

D.N.B., XV. 31.

Queenborough

Lyme Regis

Bridgnorth

Marlborough

P.R.O.,S.P.Dom.,16/139/19.

Sudbury

Grampound

Hereford County

Walter Pye, Esq.

Son of Sir Walter Pye.

Sir Nathaniel Rich

Sir Edward Rodney

Sir Benjamin Rudyard

Sir Edmund Sawyer

Nathaniel Tomkins, Esq.

William Towerson, gent.

Vice-Admiral to Lord Conway.

Sir John Trevor, gent.
Sir William Twysden

A gentleman usher of the Privy

Chamber in 1625.

Sir William Uvedale

Sir Henry Vane

Sir Edmund Verney

Hannibal Vyvyan, Esq.

5 October 1625. Grant of offices
of Comptroller of the Coinage of Tin
in Cornwall and Devon and Keeper of
the Gaol at Lostwithiel.

Sir John Wentworth

A gentleman of the Privy Chamber in
ordinary in Household of Prince Henry.

Sir Henry Whitehead

Francis Winterton, gent.

A servant of Lady Denbigh,
Buckingham's sister-in-law.

Brecon

O.R., I. 474.

Harwich

Somersetshire

Downton

Berwick-on-Tweed

Christchurch

Portsmouth

Cal. S.P.Dom., 1625-6. p.486.

Great Bedwin
Winchelsea

P.R.O., LC 2/6. f. 39.

Petersfield

Thetford

Aylesbury

St. Mawes

43rd. Rpt., D.K. Pub. Records.

App., I. 12.

Great Yarmouth

B.M., Harleian MSS. 642.f.253.

Stockbridge

Dunwich

B.M., Egerton MSS. 2715.
f.422.

LEGAL OFFICIALSJohn Bankes, Esq.MorpethThomas Eden, Esq.Cambridge UniversitySir John FinchCanterburySir Ralph FreemanWinchelseaJohn Hoskyns, Esq.Hereford1630. Attorney-General to Prince Charles. D.N.B., 1. 1041.Sir Edward LeechDerby CountySir Henry MartenOxford UniversitySir Richard ShiltonBridgnorthSONS OF JUDICIAL OFFICERSThomas Coventry, Esq.Worcester CountyJohn Crew, Esq.BanburySir John CrokeShaftesburySon of Sir John Croke, a judge and
recorder of London.D.N.B., V. 118-9.Richard Hutton, Esq.Knaresborough

Yorkshire

Sir Thomas Wentworth

Sir Thomas Fairfax

Strafforde's Letters and Despatches,

1. 25. seqq.

Sir John Savile

Sir Thomas Savile

Borough Elections.Bridgnorth

Sir William Whitmore

George Vernon, esq.

O.R., 1. 465.

Sir William Whitmore

(a double return)

Sir George Paule

Canterbury

John Fisher, esq.

Sir Thomas Wilsford

Thomas Scott MS. f. 4.

Thomas Scott, esq.

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1625-6, p. 19.

Sir George Newman

Sir Henry Wotton

Carmarthen

Sir Francis Annesley

O.R., 1. 467.

Henry Vaughan, esq.

Coventry

Sir Edward Coke

Samuel Hopkins, esq.

Cal.S.P.Dom.,Addenda,1625-49, p.81.

Others

Lostwithiel

Nicholas Kendall, gent.

Sir Reginald Mohun

O.R., 1. 463.

Sir Henry Fane

(a double return)

Sir George Chudleigh

Maidstone

Edward Maplisdén, gent.

Thomas Stanley, gent.

Sir Edwin Sandys

Court and Times of Charles I, l. 22.Maldon

Sir Arthur Herryss

Sir Henry Mildmay

Sir Julius Caesar

B.M., Add. MSS. 12,496. f. 98.

Malmesbury

Sir Edward Wardour

Sir Thomas Hatton

Sir Henry Moody

O.R., l. 46^{1/2}New Lymington

John Button, esq.

John Milles, esq.

John More, esq.

Ibid., l. 465.Sandwich

Sir Henry Wotton

Sir Robert Hatton

Sir Edwin Sandys

Court and Times of Charles I, l. 22.Warwick ?

Sir Francis Leigh, jnr.

Francis Lucy, esq.

C.J. l. 800.Wells

Sir Edward Rodney

Sir Thomas Lake

John Poulett, esq.

T. Serel, A lecture on the history of Wells, p. 13.York.

Sir Arthur Ingram

Christopher Brooke, esq.

Sir Francis Wortley

Wedge/wood Committee MSS.

Great Yarmouth

Sir John Sprowston

Edward Owner

B.M., Add. MSS. 23,012. f. 103b.

CONTESTED ELECTIONS - 1626.County Elections.Dorset

Sir George Morton

Sir Thomas Freke

C.J. 1. 818, 821.

John Browne, esq.

Flint

John Salisbury, esq.

C.J. 1. 855. Cal. of Wynn Papers,
No. 1413.
Wedgewood Committee MSS.

Sir Thomas Hanmer

Kent

Sir Edward Hales

Edward Scott, esq.

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1625-6, pp.217,221.

Sir Edwin Sandys

Sir Robert Hatton

Northampton

Sir William Spencer

Sir John Pickering

H.M.C., Buccleuch MSS. 111. 257 seqq.

Sir Lewis Wattson

BOROUGH ELECTIONSCanterbury

Sir John Finch

James Palmer, esq.

Thomas Scott MS. 4b seqq.

Thomas Scott, esq.

Sir John Wylde

Dover

Sir John Hippisley

John Pringle, gent.

Sir William Beecher

Cal.S.P.Dom., 1625-6, p. 222.

Mr. Manning.

Grampound

Edward Thomas, esq.

Sir Benjamin Rudyard

C.J. 1. 821.

Thomas St. Aubyn, esq.

Haverfordwest

Sir Thomas Canon

Trans. -- Cymmrodorion Soc. (1945), p. 24.

Sir James Perrot

Ludgershall

Sir William Walter

Sir Thomas Jay

Ibid., I. 834.

Sir William Walter

(a double return)

Robert Mason, esq.

Newport

Thomas Gewen, esq.

Sir Henry Hungate

Ibid., I. 837.

Thomas Williams, jnr., esq.

Nottingham

Sir Gervase Clifton

John Byron, esq.

Sir Charles Cavendish

T. Bailey, Annals of Nottinghamshire,

Sir George Chaworth

II. 612.

Sir Francis Foljambe

George Lascelles

Oxford University

Sir Thomas Edmondes

Wood, The history - of the University
of Oxford, II. pt. 1. 356.

Sir John Danvers

Sir Francis Stuart

C.J. I. 837.Reading

John Saunders 19

Sir Francis Knollys, jnr.

Sir Robert Knollys 4

Sir Edward Clarke 0

Thomas Turner 0

Nicholas Gunter 0

Records of the Borough of Reading

(ed. J.M. Guilding), II. 273.

? Warwick

Sir Francis Leigh

C.J. I. 816.

Francis Lucy, esq.

Great Yarmouth

Sir John Corbett

B.M., Add. MSS. 23,012. f. 105b.

Thomas Johnson.

CONTESTED ELECTIONS - 1628County ElectionsCornwall

Sir John Eliot

William Coryton, esq.

C.J., 1. 895-7.

Sir Richard Edgecumbe

John Mohun, esq.

Essex

Sir Francis Barrington

Sir Harbottle Grimston

H.M.C., Buccleuch MSS., III. 324.

Sir Thomas Fanshawe

Sir Thomas Edmondes

Borough ElectionsBoston

Richard Bellingham, esq.

Sir Anthony Irbye

C.J. 1. 893.

Richard Okely, esq.

Clitheroe

Thomas Jermyn, esq.

William Nowell, gent.

Richard Ashe.

W.S. Weeks, Clitheroe in the

Richard Shuttleworth

Seventeenth Century, 11. 226-7.

William Fanshawe

Thomas Carew

Ralph Assheton

Colchester

Sir Thomas Cheeke

Edward Alford, sen. esq.

C.J. 1. 876.

Sir Thomas Cheeke

(a double return)

Sir William Masham

Coventry

William Purefoy, esq.

Richard Greene, esq.

Ibid., 1. 880.

Isaac Walden, esq.

Thomas Potter, esq.

Exeter

Ignatius Jourdain

John Lynne, gent.

Ibid., l. 875.

Michael Martyn

(a double return)

John Lynne, gent.

Gatton

Sir Charles Howard

Samuel Ofield, esq.

Ibid.

Sir Thomas Lake.

Jerome Weston, esq.

Guildford

Poynings More, esq.

Robert Parkehurst, jnr. gent.

O.R., l. 478.

Poynings More, esq.

(a double return)

Sir Francis Carew

Knaresborough

Richard Hutton, esq.

Henry Benson, esq.

Yorkshire Arch. Journal. XXXIV.
214. seqq.

Henry Slingsby, esq.

Lewes

Sir George Goring

Anthony Staplie, esq.

C.J. l. 877.

Sir George Goring

(a double return)

Sir George Rivers

Michael

John Sparke, esq.

John Coswarth, esq.

Ibid., l. 902.

Francis Buller, esq.

Newport

Nicholas Trefusis, esq.

Pierre Edgcumbe, esq.

Sir John Wolstenholme

Ibid., l. 883.

Sir William Killigrew

B.M., Harleian MSS. 4771.f.81.b.

John Herne, esq.

Oxford

John Whistler, esq.

Thomas Wentworth, esq. 204. Oxford Council Acts. 1626-1665, pp. 9-10.

Sir Henry Croke. 106.

Reading

John Saunders, esq. 20.

Sir Francis Knollys, jnr. 19.

Sir John Brooke 0.

Edward Frasted 0. Records -- of Reading, 11. 384.

Thomas Turner 0.

Nicholas Gunter 0.

Robert Maulthus 0.

William Maulthus 0.

Richmond

Sir Talbot Bowes

James Howell, esq. C. Clarkson, History -- of Richmond,
app. IX. 419.

Christopher Wandesford, esq.

Others.

Saltash

Sir Richard Buller

Sir Francis Cottington Cal. S.P.Dom., 1628-9, p. 65.

Others.

Warwick ?Sir Thomas Puckeringe C.J. 1. 907.

Robert Grevill, esq.

Westminster

Joseph Bradshawe, esq.

Thomas Morris, esq.

Sir Robert Pye Court and Times of Charles I, 1. 327.

Sir Robert Cotton

Mr. Man.

Mr. Hayward

Wigan

Sir Anthony St. John	65	
Edward Bridgeman, esq.	63	
Robert Gardner	8	D. Sinclair, <u>History of Wigan</u> , I. 196.
Edward Boulter	1	
Peter Houlford	1	
William Prescott	1	
Miles Pooley	1	

York

Sir Arthur Ingram
 Thomas Hoyle
 Sir John Savile
 - Robinson.

G.J., I. 878, 1882.

Disputed election cases can be defined as those which were referred to the House of Commons, and which are principally concerned with election irregularities or franchise disputes. The House of Commons gives no information concerning the result and the election itself.

Appendix III.DISPUTED ELECTIONS¹ - 1625.

<u>C.J.1.</u> 799	21 June	<u>Yorkshire County Election.</u> A petition preferred by Sir Edward Gyles from Yorkshire about the election of Sir John Savile.
<u>C.J.1.</u> 801.	22 June	<u>Yorkshire County election</u>
<u>C.J.1.</u> 801-2	4 July	<u>Yorkshire County election</u>
<u>C.J.1.</u> 803-4.	5 July	<u>Yorkshire County election</u>
<u>C.J.1.</u> 800.	21 June-	<u>Warwick Borough.</u> Sir Thomas Puckering tends a petition from the borough.
<u>C.J.1.</u> 807.	8 July	The case for Warwick is deferred.
<u>C.J.1.</u> 800.	21 June	<u>Westminster Borough.</u> Sir John Danvers tends a petition from the borough.
<u>C.J.1.</u> 800.	21 June	<u>Banbury Borough.</u> A petition against the return of Sir William Cope. The question whether he was in execution before the summons of parliament. It was decided to issue a new writ.
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 801	4 July	<u>Fowey Borough.</u> Arthur Bassett, upon mean process imprisoned, and afterwards chosen a burgess. It was agreed that he was well-elected.
<u>C.J.1.</u> 806.	7 July	<u>Pembrokeshire County.</u>
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 807.	8 July	Sir George More reported that he had in hand above twenty petitions.
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 810.	5 August	All petitions about elections to be respite until further order of the House.

1. Disputed election cases can be defined as those which were referred to the House of Commons, and which were primarily concerned with election irregularities or franchise disputes. The Commons Journal gives no information concerning the Warwick and Westminster elections.

DISPUTED ELECTIONS - 1626.

<u>C.J.</u> 1. 816.	9 February	<u>Warwick.</u> A petition from the borough.
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 817.	9 February	<u>Bury St. Edmunds.</u> The indenture of return of Emanuel Gifford was dated 30 January, whereas he was elected on 7 January. The return was corrected and Gifford permitted to sit.
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 817.	10 February	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 819-20	15-17 February.	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 817.	9 February	<u>Grampound.</u>
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 821.	17 February	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 817.	10 February	<u>Norfolk County.</u> Sir Edward Coke, although Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, was elected for Norfolk County. The Chancellor of the Exchequer asked for a new writ. The case was undecided.
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 819.	14 February	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 825.	27 February	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 817.	10 February	<u>East Grinstead.</u> A new writ in place of Sir Robert Heath, the Attorney-General, according to the precedent of 1614, when an Attorney-General was debarred from sitting.
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 818.	11 February	<u>Dorset County.</u>
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 821.	17 February	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 820.	17 February	<u>Bridport.</u>
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 822-3	21 February	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 821.	18 February	<u>Clitheroe.</u> Sir Thomas Fanshawe moved for a new writ, for the choice of another burgess in place of George Kirke, a Scottish man, antenatus, and not naturalized. It was so resolved.
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 826.	1 March	<u>Oxford University</u> 1
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 834.	10 March	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 837	17 March	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 834.	10 March	<u>Ludgershall</u>
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 837.	17 March	<u>Newport (Cornwall).</u>
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 839	22 March	<u>Camelford.</u> Sir Thomas Monck was "in execution at the time of his election". A new writ was issued.
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 840	24 March	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 841	25 March	<u>Leicestershire.</u> A petition against the Sheriff.
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 854.	3 May	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 855	4 May	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 850	28 April	<u>Wallingford.</u> Complaint that Upton Crooke, M.P. for Wallingford, had been chosen by bribery and corruption.
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 855	5 May	<u>Flintshire</u> Many misdemeanours were reported in the county election. The Sheriff was called to account.

DISPUTED ELECTION - 1628.

<u>C.J.</u> 1. 873	20 March	<u>Colchester</u>
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 876-7	28 March	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 873	20 March	<u>Cornwall</u>
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 874	21 March	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 874	22 March	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 876	28 March	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 877	29 March	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 886	21 April	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 886	22 April	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 888	25 April	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 893	8 May	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 895-7	12 May	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 874	21 March	<u>Coventry</u>
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 875	24 March	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 880-1	9 April	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 874	22 March	<u>Newport (Cornwall).</u>
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 883	14 April	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 875	26 March	<u>Gatton</u>
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 875	26 March	<u>Exeter</u>
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 877	29 March	<u>Lewes</u>
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 878	3 April	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 879	4 April	<u>York</u>
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 887	23 April	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 888	24 April	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 890	29 April	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 891	2 May.	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 879	4 April	<u>Droitwich.</u> An "unfit letter" written concerning this election.

<u>C.J.</u> 1. 881	10 April	<u>Bridport.</u>
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 882	12 April	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 884	17 April	<u>Yorkshire.</u> A dispute concerning whether those who refused to declare their names to the sheriff were disabled as electors.
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 886	19 April	<u>Taunton.</u>
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 898	15 May	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 891	1 May	<u>Milborne Port and Weobley.</u> Recovered their right of representation, on petition.
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 893	8 May	<u>Boston.</u>
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 895	10 May	
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 902	21 May	<u>Michael.</u>
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 907	31 May	<u>Warwick.</u>
<u>C.J.</u> 1. 927	9 February 1629	<u>Flint.</u> The writ for election was issued by privity of the Lord Keeper. The question was debated as to whom had the right to issue a writ during the prorogation of parliament.

This list only includes recorders and deputy-recorders who were elected for the boroughs in which they held office. In addition, Sir Edward Coke, recorder of Coventry, was for Norfolk county, while Richard Bosc, recorder of Stafford, was chosen for Hereford and Shropshire, recorder of Lincoln, was for Rutland.

Appendix IV.LIST OF RECORDERS (1625).¹

<u>Borough</u>	<u>M.P.</u>	
Beaumaris	Charles Jones	<u>O.R.</u> 1. 467.
Bedford	Richard Taylor	<u>Bedfordshire Hist. Rec. Soc.</u> XXV. 109.
Bridport	Sir John Strode	<u>O.R.</u> , 1. 463.
Bristol	Nicholas Hyde	<u>Bristol Lists: Municipal and Miscellaneous</u> , p. 232.
Cambridge	Talbot Pepys	Cooper, <u>Annals of Cambridge</u> , III. 169.
Chester	Edward Whitbie	G. Ormerod, <u>History of Chester</u> , vol. 1. pt. 1. 221.
Chipping Wycombe/Thomas Lane.		J. Parker, <u>History of Chipping Wycombe</u> , app. p. 71.
Colchester	William Towse (town clerk)	<u>O.R.</u> , 1. 463.
Derby	Timothy Levinge	<u>O.R.</u> , 1. 463.
Dorchester	Sir Francis Ashley	<u>Municipal Records of -- Dorchester</u> (ed. C.H. Mayo and A.W. Gould), pp. 452-3.
Evesham	Richard Creswell	W. Tindal, <u>The History and Antiquities of -- Evesham</u> , app. p. 330.
Exeter	Nicholas Ducke	G. Oliver, <u>History of -- Exeter</u> , p. 236.
London	Sir Heneage Finch	<u>D.N.B.</u> , VII. 7-8.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne.	Sir Peter Riddell	J. Brand, <u>History -- of Newcastle-upon-Tyne</u> , II. 216.

1. This list only includes recorders and deputy-recorders who were elected for the boroughs in which they held office. In addition, Sir Edward Coke, recorder of Coventry, sat for Norfolk county, while Richard Dyott, recorder of Stafford, was chosen for Lichfield, and Henry Pelham, recorder of Lincoln, sat for Grimsby.

Northampton	Christopher Shereland/ (Steward)	<u>Records of the Borough of Northampton</u> (ed. J.C. Cox), II. 495.
Norwich	William Denny (Steward)	H. Le Strange, <u>Norfolk Official Lists</u> , p. 128.
Nottingham	Robert Greaves (town clerk)	T. Bailey, <u>Annals of Nottinghamshire</u> II. 591.
Oxford	Thomas Wentworth John Whistler (Deputy Recorder)	<u>Oxford Council Acts 1583-1626</u> (ed. H.E. Salter), p. 181. <u>Ibid.</u> , 1583-1626, p. 314.
Plymouth	John Glanville	R.N. Worth, <u>Plymouth Municipal Records</u> , p. 205.
Pontefract	Sir John Jackson	R.R. Reid, <u>The King's Council in the North</u> , p. 395.
Reading	John Saunders (Counsel)	<u>Records of the Borough of Reading</u> , (ed. J.M. Guilding), II. 133.
Rochester	Henry Clerke	<u>Visitation of Kent - 1619</u> , p. 22.
Salisbury	Henry Sherfield	<u>O.R.</u> , l. 466.
Shaftesbury	William Whitaker	J. Hutchins, <u>History and Antiquities of -- Dorset</u> , III. 17.
Shrewsbury	Thomas Owen (Town Clerk)	H.M.C., 15th. Rpt., App., pt. X. 63.

Appendix V.

M.P.'s who served for the same constituencies in 1625, 1626 and 1628.¹

Name of M.P.

Sir William Alford	Beverley
John Backhouse, esq.	Marlow
Thomas Bancrofte, esq.	Castle Rising
Sir Francis Barrington	Essex
Sir Thomas Barrington	Newtown
Sir Charles Berkeley	Heytesbury
Sir Thomas Bludder	Reigate
Thomas Bowyer, esq.	Bramber
John Browne, esq.	Gloucester
Sir Richard Buller	Saltash
Sir William Bulstrode	Rutland
Edward Bysshe, esq.	Bletchingley
William Cage, esq.	Ipswich
Ralph Clare, esq.	Bewdley
Sir Henry Compton	East Grinstead
William Cox, esq.	Southwark
Patrick Curwen, esq.	Cumberland
Sir George Dalston	Cumberland
Sir John Danvers	Oxford University
John Delbridge	Barnstaple
Richard Digges, esq.	Marlborough
Richard Dyott, esq.	Lichfield
Richard Escott, esq.	Launceston
Nicholas Eversfeild, esq.	Hastings
Sir Ferdinando Fairfax	Boroughbridge
Sir Thomas Fanshawe	Lancaster
Sir John Fenwicke	Northumberland
Francis Finche, esq.	Eye
Philip Flemyng, esq.	Newport (I.o.W.)
Thomas Fotherley, esq.	Rye
Sir Richard Gifford	Stockbridge
John Glanville, esq.	Plymouth
George Gollopp	Southampton
Ralph Goodwyn, esq.	Ludlow
Sir George Goring	Lewes
Sir Thomas Grantham	Lincoln
Bevil Grenville, esq.	Launceston
John Hampden, esq.	Wendover
Edward Herbert, esq.	Downton
Sir William Herbert	Montgomery
Christopher Herris, esq.	Harwich
Sir Baptist Hickes	Tewkesbury
Sir Christopher Hilliard	Heydon
Sir John Hippisley	Dover
Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby	Ripon
Sir John Hotham	Beverley
Sir Charles Howard	Gatton
Sir Robert Howard	Bishop's Castle
Richard Hutton, esq.	Knaresborough
Sir Arthur Ingram	York
Sir John Jackson ²	Pontefract
Sir Robert Jackson ²	Berwick

1. 'b' indicates that a member was returned at a by-election.

2. Returned at a by-election in 1628.

Sir Thomas Jermyn	Bury St. Edmunds
Sir Thomas Jervoise	Whitchurch
Oliver Lord St. John	Bedfordshire
Charles Jones, esq.	Beaumaris
Ignatius Jordayne, esq.	Exeter
Sir Francis Knollys, jun.	Reading
Thomas Lawley, esq.	Much Wenlock
James Lewis, esq.	Cardiganshire
John Lister, esq.	Kingston-on-Hull.
George Lowe, sen. esq.	Colne
John Lowther, esq.	Westmoreland
Francis Lucy, esq.	Warwick
Sir Thomas Lucy	Warwickshire
Sir Oliver Luke	Bedfordshire
William Marlott, gent.	New Shoreham
Roger Mathew, esq.	Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness.
Thomas Meautys, esq.	Cambridge
Sir Hugh Middleton	Denbigh
Sir Thomas Morgan	Wilton
John Myddleton, esq.	Horsham
Sir Roger Northe	Eye
Sir John Oglander	Yarmouth
Michael Oldisworth, esq.	Old Sarum
Thomas Owen, esq.	Shrewsbury
Sir William Owen	Shrewsbury
Roger Palmer, esq.	Queenborough
Thomas Paramour, esq.	Lyme Regis
Robert Parkehurst, jun., gent.	Guildford
Henry Pelham, esq.	Great Grimsby
Sir Francis Popham	Chippenham
Charles Price, esq.	Radnor
Sir Thomas Puckering	Tamworth
John Pym, esq.	Tavistock
John Pyne, esq.	Poole
William Ravenscroft, esq.	Flint
Thomas Reynell, esq.	Morpeth
Henry Rolle, esq.	Truro
John Saunders, esq.	Reading
Christopher Shereland, esq.	Northampton
Henry Sherfeilde, esq.	Salisbury
Thomas Sherwill, esq.	Plymouth
Richard Spencer, esq.	Northampton
William Strobe, gent.	Beeralston
Richard Taylor, esq.	Bedford
Sir Thomas Thynne	Hindon
Sir Richard Titchborne	Winchester
Nathaniel Tomkyns, esq.	Christchurch
Richard Tomlyns, esq.	Ludlow
James Tompkins, esq.	Leominster
John Upton, esq.	Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness
Sir William Uvedale	Petersfield
Richard Vaughan, esq.	Carmarthen
Sir Thomas Walsingham	Rochester
Thomas Wentworth, esq.	Oxford
John Whistler, esq.	Oxford
Edward Whitbie, esq.	Chester
Lawrence Whitacres, esq.	Peterborough
John Wogan, esq.	Pembroke
John Wylde, esq.	Droitwich
Richard Yearwood, esq.	Southwark.

M.P's who served for different constituencies in 1625, 1626 and 1628¹

Sir William Armyne	Grantham 5. Lincolnshire 6, 8.
Sir Thomas Badger	Stockbridge 5, 6. Lostwithiel 8. ^b
James Bagg, esq.	East Looe 5, 6. Plympton Earl 8.
Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston	Sudbury 5, 6. Suffolk 8.
Sir William Beecher	Dover 5. Ilchester 6. New Windsor 8.
Henry Bellasis, esq.	Thirsk 5, 6. Yorkshire 8.
Edward Bridgeman, gent.	Wigan 5, 8. Liverpool 6.
Mildmay Lord Burghersh	Kent 5. Peterborough 6, 8.
Sir Thomas Canon	Haverfordwest 5, 6. Haslemere 8.
Sir Henry Carey	Tregony 5. St. Mawes 6. Grampound 8.
Thomas Carey, esq.	Helston 5. Tregony 6. St. Mawes 8.
Sir Thomas Cheeke	Beeralston 5. Maldon 6. Colchester 8.
Sir Gervase Clifton	Nottinghamshire 5, 8. Nottingham 8.
Sir Edward Coke	Norfolk 5, 6. Buckinghamshire 8.
Sir John Cooke	St. Germans 5. Cambridge University 6, 8.
William Coryton, esq.	Liskeard 5. Cornwall 6, 8.
Thomas Coventry, esq.	Droitwich 5, 6. Worcestershire 8.
Sir Robert Crane	Sudbury 5, 8. Suffolk 6.
John Crew, esq.	Agmondesham 5. Brackley 6. Banbury 8.
Sir Dudley Digges	Tewkesbury 5, 6. Kent 8.
Sir Lewis Dive	Bridport 5, 6. Weymouth and Melcombe Regis 8.
Sir Walter Earle	Dorset 5, 8. Lyme Regis 6.
Sir John Eliot	Newport 5. St. Germans 6. Cornwall 8.
James Fiennes, esq.	Banbury 5. ^b Oxfordshire 6, 8.
Sir Miles Fleetwood	Newton 5, 6. Woodstock 8.
Sir John Francklyn	Middlesex 5. Wootton Bassett 6, 8.
Giles Greene, gent.	Weymouth and Melcombe Regis 5, 6. Corfe Castle 8.
Sir John Hare	Aylesbury 5. Evesham 6. Kings Lynn 8. 78.
Henry Jermyn, esq.	Bodmin 5, 6. Liverpool 8.
Thomas Jermyn, esq.	Leicester 5. ^b Lancaster 6. ^b Clitheroe 8.
Sir Alexander St. John	Bedford 5. Barnstaple 6, 8.
Sir Anthony St. John	Cheshire 5. Wigan 6, 8.
Sir Robert Killigrew	Cornwall 5. Tregony 6. Bodmin 8.
Sir Robert Knollys	Abington 5, 6. Wallingford 8.
Edward Kyrtton, esq.	Marlborough 5, 6. Great Bedwin 8.
Richard Lewkenor, esq.	Midhurst 5, 6. Sussex 8.
Edward Littleton, esq.	Leominster 5, 6. Carnarvon 8.
Philip Mainwaring, esq.	Boroughbridge 5, 6. Derby 8.
Sir Robert Mansell	Glamorgan 5, 8. Lostwithiel 6.
Sir Henry Marten	St. Germans 5, 6. Oxford University 8.
Sir William Masham	Maldon 5. ^b 6. Colchester 8.
Sir Humphrey May	Lancaster 5. Leicester 6, 8.
Poynings More, esq.	Haslemere 5, 6. Guildford 8.
Sir Charles Morison	St. Albans 5, 6. Hertford 8. ^b
Sir Nathaniel Napper	Dorset 5. Wareham 6. Milborne Port 8.
Samuel Offield, esq.	Midhurst 5. ^b Gatton 6, 8.
Richard Oliver, esq.	Buckingham 5, 8. Tiverton 6. ^b
Sir Robert Pye	Ludgershall 5. Westminster 6. Grampound 8.
Sir Walter Pye	Brecon 5. Herefordshire 6, 8.
Sir Nathaniel Rich	Newport (I.o.W.) 5. Harwich 6, 8.
Sir Edward Rodney	Wells 5, 6. Somerset 8.
Sir Benjamin Rudyard	Portsmouth 5. Old Sarum 6. Downton 8.
Paul Speccott, esq.	Newport 5. Bossiney 6. East Looe 8.
Sir Henry Spiller	Arundel 5. Midhurst 6. Thetford 8.
Henry Stanhope, esq.	Nottinghamshire 5, 6. East Retford 8.

1. The figures 5, 6 and 8 indicate whether the member sat for a particular constituency in the 1625, 1626 or 1628 parliament.

Appendix VI.

M.P's who served for the same constituencies in 1624 and 1625.

<u>NAME OF M.P.</u>	<u>CONSTITUENCY</u>
Sir Maurice Abbot	Kingston-on-Hull
Edward Aglionby, esq.	Carlisle
Edward Alford, esq.	Colchester
John St. Amand, esq.	Stamford ¹ .
Sir Henry Anderson	Newcastle.
William Ashton, esq.	Hertford.
Thomas Bancrofte, esq.	Castle Rising
Sir Francis Barrington	Essex
Sir Thomas Barrington	Newtown ¹
Robert Bateman, esq.	London
Sir Richard Beaumont	Pontefract ¹
Sir Maurice Berkeley	Gloucestershire ¹
Sir Thomas Bludder	Reigate
Martin Bonde,	London
Sir John Borough	Horsham
William Boswell, esq.	Boston
Thomas Bowyer, esq.	Bramber
Sir Francis Brandlinge	Northumberland
Thomas Brereton, esq.	Taunton
Christopher Brooke, esq.	York.
Sir Robert Brooke	Dunwich
John Browne, esq.	Gloucester
Francis Buller, esq.	Saltash
Sir William Bulstrode	Rutland
William Cage, esq.	Ipswich
Francis Carew, esq.	Helston
Francis Carew, esq.	Haslemere
Thomas Carey, esq.	Helston
Sir Philip Carey	Woodstock
Sir Robert Carr	Aylesbury ¹
John Carville, esq.	Aldeburgh
William Lord Cavendish	Derbyshire
Hugh Cholmeley, gent.	Scarborough
William Cholmeley, esq.	Great Bedwin
Ralph Clare, esq.	Bewdley
Henry Coke, esq.	Chipping Wycombe
Sir John Cooke	St. Germans.
Sir Andrew Corbett	Shropshire
Matthew Craddock, esq.	Stafford
Sir Robert Crane	Sudbury
Richard Cresheld, esq.	Evesham
Sir Clipsie Crew	Downton
Sir Oliver Cromwell	Huntingdonshire
Sir John Cutts	Cambridgeshire
Sir George Dalston	Cumberland
John Delbridge	Barnstaple
William Denny, esq.	Norwich
Sir Dudley Digges	Tewkesbury
Richard Digges	Marlborough
Pentecost Doddridge	Barnstaple

1. Returned at a by-election in 1624.

Francis Downes, esq.	Wigan
Nicholas Ducke, esq.	Exeter
Edmund Dunche, esq.	Berkshire
John Dutton, esq.	Gloucestershire
Sir John Eliot	Newport
Nicholas Eversfeild, esq.	Hastings
Sir Ferdinando Fairfax	Boroughbridge
Sir Thomas Fairfax	Heydon
Thomas Fanshawe, esq. ¹	Lancaster
Thomas Fanshawe, esq.	Hertford
William Fanshawe, esq.	Clitheroe
Sir Thomas Farnefould	Steyning
Sir John Fenwicke	Northumberland ¹
Francis Finch, esq.	Eye
Sir Heneage Finch	London
Philip Flemmyng, esq.	Newport (I.o.W.)
Sir Anthony Forrest	Wallingford ¹
Sir Edward Fraunces	Steyning
Framlingham Gawdye, esq.	Thetford
Sir Gilbert Gerrard	Middlesex
Sir Richard Gifford	Stockbridge
John Glanville, esq.	Plymouth
Thomas Glynne, esq.	Carnarvonshire
Richard Godfrey, gent.	New Romney
Sir Francis Godolphyn	St. Ives
Ralph Goodwyn, esq.	Ludlow
Sir George Goring	Lewes
Sir Edward Gyles	Totness
Sir William Harvie	Preston
Henry Harwell, esq.	Coventry
Christopher Hatton, esq.	Peterborough ¹
Sir Robert Hatton	Sandwich
Sir Thomas Hatton	Malmesbury
Sir Robert Heath	East Grinstead
Nicholas Hele, esq.	Liskeard
Edward Herbert, esq.	Downton ¹
George Herbert, gent.	Montgomery
Sir William Herbert	Montgomeryshire
Sir Arthur Herris	Maldon
Christopher Herris, esq.	Harwich
Sir William Hewett	New Windsor ¹
Sir Baptist Hickes	Tewkesbury
Sir Christopher Hilliard	Hedon
Sir Robert Hitcham	Orford
Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby	Ripon
Sir Edward Howard	Calne
Sir Robert Howard	Bishops Castle
Sir William Howard	Cricklade
Thomas Hughes, esq.	Appleby
Richard Hutton, esq.	Knaresborough
Sir Thomas Hyrne	Norwich
Sir Arthur Ingram	York
Sir John Jackson	Pontefract ¹
Sir Robert Jackson	Berwick
Sir John Jephson	Petersfield
Sir Thomas Jermyn	Bury St. Edmunds
Sir Thomas Jervoise	Whitchurch
Sir Alexander St. John	Bedford
Sir Henry St. John	Huntingdon
Oliver Lord St. John	Bedfordshire
Charles Jones, esq.	Beaumaris
Richard Knightley, esq.	Northamptonshire
Sir Francis Knollys, jnr.	Reading
Sir Robert Knollys	Abingdon

Sir Edward Leache
 Timothy Levinge, esq.
 James Lewis, esq.
 Richard Lewkenor, esq.
 Robert Viscount Lisle
 John Lister, esq.
 Sir Thomas Littleton
 John Lowther, esq.
 Francis Lucy, esq.
 Sir Thomas Lucy
 Sir John Luke
 Sir Oliver Luke
 Sir Arthur Mainwaring
 Philip Mainwaring, esq.
 William Mallory, esq.
 William Man, esq.
 Sir George Manners
 Sir Robert Mansell
 William Marlott, gent.
 Sir William Masham
 Roger Mathew, esq.
 Sir Hugh Middleton
 Sir Thomas Middleton
 Sir John Mill
 William Mill, esq.
 John Mohun, esq.
 Sir Charles Montagu
 Edward Montagu, esq.
 Poynings More, esq.
 Sir Thomas Morgan
 Sir William Morgan
 John Myddleton, esq.
 Sir Robert Naunton
 Sir Francis Nethersole
 Sir Richard Newporte
 Michael Oldisworth, esq.
 Richard Oliver, esq.
 Sir Peter Osborne
 Thomas Owen, esq.
 Roger Palmer, esq.
 Sir Guy Palmes
 Henry Pelham, esq.
 Sir Thomas Pelham
 Sir Edward Peyton
 Sir Robert Phelps
 Sir William Pitt
 Henry Poole, esq.
 Edward Popham, esq.
 Charles Price, gent.
 James Price, esq.
 William Pryce, esq.
 Rowland Pughe, esq.
 Sir Walter Pye
 John Pym, esq.
 Arthur Pyne, esq.
 Sir John Radcliffe
 William Ravenscroft, esq.
 Thomas Reynell, esq.

Derby
 Derby
 Cardigan
 Midhurst
 Monmouthshire
 Kingston-upon-Hull¹
 Worcestershire
 Westmoreland
 Warwick
 Warwickshire
 St. Albans
 Bedfordshire
 Huntingdon
 Boroughbridge
 Ripon
 Westminster
 Grantham
 Glamorgan
 New Shoreham
 Maldon²
 Clifton Dartmouth Hardness
 Denbigh
 London
 Southampton
 Arundel
 Grampound
 Higham Ferrers
 Huntingdonshire
 Haslemere
 Wilton
 Monmouthshire
 Horsham
 Cambridge University
 Corfe Castle
 Shropshire
 Old Sarum
 Buckingham
 Corfe Castle
 Shrewsbury
 Queenborough
 Rutland
 Great Grimsby
 Sussex
 Cambridgeshire
 Somerset
 Wareham
 Cirencester
 Bridgwater
 Radnor
 Radnorshire
 Cardiff
 Cardigan
 Brecon
 Tavistock
 Weymouth and Melcombe Regis.
 Lancashire
 Flint
 Morpeth

2. Returned at a by-election in 1625.

Edward Roberts, esq.	Penryn
Sir Edward Rodney	Wells
Sir John Rous	Dunwich
Sir Benjamin Rudyard	Portsmouth
John Saunders, esq.	Reading
John Savage, esq.	Chester
Christopher Shereland, esq.	Northampton
Henry Sherfeilde, esq.	Salisbury
Thomas Sherwill, esq.	Plymouth
John Shuter, esq.	Andover
Robert Snellinge, esq.	Ipswich
Edward Spencer, esq.	Brackley
Richard Spencer, esq.	Northampton
Sir William Spencer	Northamptonshire
Sir Henry Spiller	Arundel
Sir John Stanhope	Derbyshire
Anthony Stapley, esq.	New Shoreham
Walter Steward, esq.	Monmouth
William Strode, gent.	Beeralston
Richard Taylor, esq.	Bedford
John Thorowgood, esq.	Shaftesbury
Sir Clement Throckmorton	Warwickshire
Sir Richard Titchborne	Winchester ¹
Nathaniel Tomkyns, esq.	Christchurch
Richard Tomlyns, esq.	Ludlow
James Tompkins, esq.	Leominster
William Towse, esq.	Colchester
John Trenchard, esq.	Wareham
Sir John Trevor, jnr.	Flintshire ¹
Sir Henry Vane	Carlisle
Richard Vaughan, esq.	Carmarthenshire
Sir Edward Villiers	Westminster
Sir Thomas Walsingham	Rochester
Sir Edward Wardour	Malmesbury
Richard Weaver, gent.	Hereford
Sir Thomas Wenman	Brackley
Thomas Wentworth, esq.	Oxford
John Whistler, esq.	Oxford
Edward Whitbie, esq.	Chester
William Whiteaker, esq.	Shaftesbury
William Whiteway, sen.	Dorchester
Sir William Whitmore	Bridgnorth
Lawrence Whittacres, esq.	Peterborough
William Wingfeild, esq.	Lichfield
Thomas Wolrige, esq.	Much Wenlock
Sir Francis Wortley	East Retford ¹
Sir Christopher Wray	Great Grimsby
John Wylde, esq.	Droitwich
Henry Wynn, esq.	Merionethshire
Sir Richard Wynn	Ilchester
Richard Yearwood, esq.	Southwark

M.P.'s who served for different constituencies in 1624 and 1625.¹

<u>M.P.</u>	<u>1624 Constituency</u>	<u>1625 Constituency</u>
Sir William Armyne	Boston ^b	Grantham
James Bagg, esq.	West Looe	East Looe
Sir William Beecher	Leominster	Dover
Sir Charles Berkeley	Bodmin	Heytesbury
Sir Montague Bartye	Lincolnshire	Stamford
Sir Henry Carey	Beverley ^b	Tregony
Sir Thomas Cheeke	Essex	Beeralston
Sir George Chudleigh	Tiverton	Lostwithiel
Sir Edward Coke	Coventry	Norfolk
Sir William Cope	Oxfordshire	Banbury
Sir John Corbett	Norfolkshire	Great Yarmouth
William Coryton, esq.	Cornwall	Liskeard
Sir Francis Cottington	Camelford	Bossiney
Sir Robert Cotton	Old Sarum ^b	Thetford
Sir Thomas Crew	Aylesbury	Gatton
Sir John Danvers	Newport	Oxford University
Sir Walter Devereux	Worcestershire	Worcester
Francis Drake, esq.	Sandwich	Agmondesham
John Drake, esq.	Devon	Lyme Regis
Richard Dyott, esq.	Stafford	Lichfield
Sir Walter Earle	Poole	Dorset
Sir Thomas Edmondes	Chichester	Oxford University
Richard Escott, esq.	Newport	Launceston
Sir Miles Fleetwood	Launceston	Newton
Charles Grantham, esq.	Newcastle-under-Lyme	Aldeburgh
Sir Thomas Grantham	Lincolnshire	Lincoln
Bevil Grenville, esq.	Cornwall	Launceston
Sir Arthur Herries	Maldon	Essex
Sir John Hippisley	Petersfield	Dover
Edward Hungerford, esq.	Wiltshire	Bath
Thomas Jermyn, esq.	Beeralston ^b	Leicester ^b
Sir Robert Killigrew	Penryn	Cornwall
Sir Arthur Lake	Minehead	Bridgwater
Sir Henry Ley	Westbury	Wiltshire
Sir Humphrey May	Leicester	Lancaster
Sir Thomas Middleton, jun.	Weymouth and Melcombe	Denbighshire
Sir Henry Mildmay	Westbury	Maldon
Sir George More	Guildford	Surrey
Sir Robert More	Surrey	Guildford
Sir Charles Morison	Hertfordshire	St. Albans
Sir Roger Northe	Suffolk	Eye
Sir Daniel Norton	Southamptonshire	Portsmouth
Samuel Offield, esq.	Gatton	Midhurst ^b
Sir Robert Oxenbregg	Southamptonshire	Whitchurch
Algernon Lord Percy	Sussex	Chichester
Lewis Powell, esq.	Haverfordwest	Pembroke
Sir Robert Pye	Bath	Ludgershall
Sir Nathaniel Rich	Harwich	Newport
Henry Rolle, esq.	Callington	Truro
Sir Edwin Sandys	Kent	Penryn

1. 'b' indicates that a member was elected at a by-election.

Sir Edmund Sawyer	New Windsor	Harwich
Sir John Scudamore	Herefordshire	Hereford
Sir Edward Seymour	Callington	Totness
Sir Francis Seymour	Marlborough	Wiltshire
Paul Speccott, esq.	East Looe	Newport
Sir William Springe	Suffolk	Bury St. Edmunds
Sir John Stradling	St. Germans	Old Sarum
Sir John Strangeways	Dorset	Weymouth and Melcombe
Sir William Strode	Devon	Plympton / ^{Regis.}
Sir John Suckling	Middlesex	Yarmouth ^b
Sir Thomas Thynne	Heytesbury	Hindon
Sir William Uvedale	Portsmouth	Petersfield
Sir Edmund Verney	Buckingham	New Romney
Sir Henry Wallop	Whitchurch	Andover
Robert Wallop, esq.	Andover	Southamptonshire
Christopher Wandesford, esq.	Aldborough	Richmond
Sir Thomas Wentworth	Pontefract	Yorkshire
Sir Richard Weston	Bossiney	Callington
Sir Simon Weston	Lichfield ^b	Staffordshire

Appendix VII.¹M.B.Constituencies

William Anderson, esq.	Grantham 5; Lincolnshire 6, 8.
Sir William Arnyrn	Lincoln 8.
Sir Edward Ascough	Sudbury 5, 6; Suffolk 8.
Sir Nathaniel Banardiston	Essex 5, 6, 8.
Sir Francis Barrington	Gloucestershire 5; Great Bedwin 6.
Sir Maurice Berkeley	---
George Catesby, esq.	Yorkshire 6; Scarborough 8. ²
Sir William Chancey	---
Sir William Constable	Liskeard 5; Cornwall 6, 8.
Sir John Corbet	---
William Coryton, esq.	---
Nathaniel Coxswell, esq.	Gloucestershire 5.
Sir Thomas Darnell	Dorset 5, 8; Lyme Regis 6.
Sir Erasmus Drayton	Newport 5; St. Germans 6; Cornwall 8.
John Dutton, esq.	---
Sir Walter Earle	New Romney 8.
Sir John Eliot	Lincoln 5, 6, 8.
Thomas Elmes, esq.	Essex 6, 8.
Thomas Godfrey, esq.	Wendover 5, 6, 8.
Sir Thomas Grantham	---
Sir Harbottle Grimston	Norfolk 8.
John Hampden, esq.	Beverley 5, 6, 8.
Robert Hatley, esq.	Bedford 6, 8.
Sir John Heveningham	Northamptonshire 5, 8.
Sir John Hotham	Bedfordshire 5, 6, 8.
Sir Beauchamp St. John	Maldon 5, 6; Colchester 8.
Richard Knightley, esq.	---
Sir Oliver Luke	Northamptonshire 6.
Sir William Masham	Gloucestershire 5, 6.
Thomas Nicholas, esq.	Cirencester 5.
Terringham Norwood, esq.	---
Sir John Pickeringe	Weymouth and Melcombe Regis 5, 6; Dorset 8.
Sir Robert Pointz	---
Henry Poole, esq.	Yorkshire 5, 8.
George Ratcliffe, esq.	Bridgnorth 5.
Sir John Strangeways	Lincolnshire 5, 8.
John Trigonwell, esq.	
Sir Thomas Wentworth	
Sir William Whitmore	
Sir John Wray	

1. This contains a list of the landed gentry who were imprisoned for their failure to pay the forced loan and who were released on 2 January 1628. It indicates whether an individual had been previously elected to one of the earlier parliaments of Charles I, and whether he was returned in 1628. cf. A.P.C., 1627-8, p. 217.
2. Sir William Constable was also elected for Callington in 1628.